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HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.

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Caninius immediately laid siege to it. The fortress, built amid steep rocks, was so strong that Caesar had time to arrive from Belgica, and it was only by cutting off the supply of water from the besieged that they were forced to surrender. The proconsul, whom such a war would have ruined in the end, was desirous of making a terrible example of these last defenders of Gallic liberty. All who had borne arms in Uxellodunum had their hands cut off; then, scattered throughout Gaul, they proclaimed to all men the fate reserved by the Romans for rebels. Lucterius, who had escaped, was later given up to Caesar by an Arvernian (51 B.C.).[1]

This atrocity was the last act of the Gallic war. No struggle left greater memories in the ancient world. "During these eight years," says Plutarch, "Caesar stormed more than eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations, and conquered three millions of men, of whom a third perished on the battlefield, and another third were sold." It matters little if the figures are exaggerated: they show how the minds of the ancients were impressed by these gigantic combats. Gaul had an end worthy of the renown that so many victories and conquests had given her; and her sons may be permitted to honor that heroic resistance.

But, after this homage paid to the courage of our forefathers, it is to be acknowledged, that, in view of the general interests of the world, Caesar had brought to a glorious close the list of conquests of the Roman Republic. A great war was ended and a great work commenced. The Roman frontier advanced from the Alps to the Rhine, German barbarism driven back and restrained, Graeco-Latin civilization spread along the banks of the Saône, the Loire, and the Seine, and thus gaining a sufficiently wide base to prevent its ever, in days of misfortune, being crushed out by invaders — such was the service rendered by Caesar, not only to Rome, but to humanity. In this work he had employed eight years, eleven legions, the inexhaustible resources of Roman discipline, his own genius, and his incomparable activity. Till then

Narbonensis, again traversed the whole of Gaul, and stopped at Nemetocena, among the Atrebates, in the heart of Belgica. Before the end of the winter, 51–50 B.C., he returned into Gallia Cisalpina.

[1] Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 30.

Gaul had been like the untamed horse we see stamped on Nervian coins, — free and fiery in its movements: he had curbed it. But, as soon as the new condition was accepted, Caesar set himself to obliterate the memory of the great defeat and to heal the wounds of that terrible war. He spent a whole year in visiting the principal cities in order to win over men's minds and tranquillize their hearts. There were no confiscations giving the land over to his soldiers, for he had not bought them with ten years of victories and booty to make them, on the eve of Pharsalia, peaceful husbandmen in the Gallic plains. No heavy tribute was imposed, only that which the new province had consented to pay during the war (forty million sesterces); and even then there were numerous exemptions in favor of allies and towns who had secured that privilege, especially of the Gallic nobles who were to form in each city a devoted faction, and remain clients of Caesar. To these favors he added what Rome's subjects had hardly ever known, — respect for the conquered, for their glory, for their trophies, even those raised at his own expense. He had lost his sword in battle: one day his soldiers found it hung up in a Gallic temple, and proposed to snatch it down. "Let them keep it," said he: "it is sacred." He left them much more than this, — their priests, their religion, their laws, and, after the victory, he seemed to remain among them only to impose public peace upon them, and to associate them with Roman greatness.

In truth it was for his interest now to attach to himself this valiant race. The conquest of Gaul had provided him with an army well inured to war and at the same time devoted to himself, with vast wealth, and immense influence in the Republic. He could no longer re-enter Rome as a mere citizen, for he had risen too high not to rise higher still.

[1] Bust of a man, with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, a horseman holding a lance in rest. (*De Bell. Gall.* viii. 44; De Saulcy, *Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule* No. 51.)

COIN OF EPASNACTUS, CHIEF OF THE ARVERNI.[1]

CHAPTER LV

HOME POLICY DURING THE PROCONSULSHIP OF CAESAR (58-49 B.C.).

I. — Clodius, Cicero, and Milo.

NINE years ago Rome had witnessed the departure along the Flaminian Way of the elegant, dissolute Caesar, — a man who had ever been wont to mingle pleasure with the gravest affairs,[1] and was as much the arbiter of fashion as the political leader. It had been thought that his constitution was too much impaired by excesses and by labors to withstand the fatigues of a long war. But one day came news that he had defeated four hundred thousand Helvetii and a hundred and twenty thousand Suevi, and then the Belgae and Armoricans; another time, that he had crossed the Rhine, and that he had carried the Roman eagles into Britain, the very western extremity of the world. And letters of officers and soldiers described those terrible struggles in the midst of wild countries, their rapid marches, their immense works, and above all the untiring activity of the man of delicate complexion, of slender figure, and uncertain health, who thought he had done nothing so long as aught remained to be done, — who swam great rivers and crossed mountains in winter-time, — who in rain, in snow, in deep forests, or swampy plains, spared himself no more than he did the humblest legionary, save when, borne in a litter, he dictated to his secretaries four letters at a time.[2]

[1] This brings to mind Servilia's note, received in the midst of a discussion among Catiline's accomplices. Caesar wrote a good deal. "He was the first to introduce at Rome the custom of communicating with his friends by letter when business or the extent of the city did not allow him time to meet them (Plut., *Caesar*, 18). All his letters are lost, save those which have been preserved among Cicero's correspondence. His "Libri auspiciorum," "De Astris," "De Analogia," his "Apophthegmata," and the "Anti-Cato" are also lost: there only remain his "Commentaries."

[2] Respecting these details, see Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 45, 51, 57; Dion., xliii. 43; Plut., *Julius Caesar*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 25; and Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 9: *hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia*,

He was no longer the man whom Roman idlers had called the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline, but the great general, who, without having for a moment distracted her attention from her pleasures, brought to the feet of Rome that Gallic race whose turbulent courage had so long troubled the ancient world. Thirty battles, in which three million men had been engaged, were well worth Pompey's equivocal victories and his laurels, gleaned in the track of so many less fortunate rivals.

While Cæsar, to the means of influence which he already possessed, was thus adding the most powerful of all, the prestige of military fame, what was happening to the Republic? Rightly to understand these deplorable times, and to judge the actors justly, we must look into the evil chaos of boundless ambitions, paltry vices, and aimless crimes, in which the people is represented by gladiators and drunken mendicants, the Senate by trembling old men,[1] the laws by bargains, liberty by riots, — a hateful time, which spoils Cicero and even Cato for us, — one in which the leaders of the Senate, as well as those of the people, degrade and abase themselves as if to bring into greater prominence the inevitable master whose image, notwithstanding distance, is present, and seems daily to grow upon the horizon.

We left Clodius master of the Forum with the approbation of the triumvirs. But he was too ambitious a man to be long content with serving as the instrument of the ambition of others. By putting up at auction his favor and the influence which his office gave him, by selling impunity to Menula of Anagnia, the rich priesthood of Cybele of Pessinus to Brogitarus, to a hundred others everything they could buy, he collected sufficient money to satisfy the ruffians with whom he had surrounded himself. At the head of an armed band, he pulled down Cicero's house on the Palatine, and, in order that it might not be rebuilt there, he consecrated the site to the Goddess of Liberty. A statue of a courtesan which his brother

celeritate, diligentia est. He sometimes went a hundred miles a day, and often outstripped his couriers (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 54). Like Alexander, he rode a horse which no man but himself could control (Plut., *Julius Cæsar*, 18; Suet., *Ibid.* 57). On ordinary marches he went on foot amid his soldiers, his head bare to the sun and rain (Suet., *Ibid.* 54). He shared their food: one day he caused a slave to be beaten who had served him with a better loaf (Suet., *Ibid.* 47). It was thus, that, as Montesquieu says, he conquered his soldiers.

[1] *Desipientem senatum.*

Appius had brought from Tanagra was placed in the shrine, and represented the goddess: it was a true representation of the Liberty which he loved, whose name is License. The consuls Gabinius and Piso, whom he had won over by securing to them the two rich governments of Macedon and Syria, aided him in pillaging the orator's villas, whence they carried off the most costly furniture and the curiosities of all kinds, which Cicero had taken pleasure in collecting. Thanks to the abasement of the Senate, and the popular indifference, and Pompey's inertia, Rome saw established in power a man whose only policy was audacity. Vatinius, Caesar's principal agent during the latter's consulship, was cited before the praetor: Clodius overthrew the tribunal, and drove away the judges. Pompey had given into the charge of one of his friends the young Tigranes his prisoner: the prince bribed the tribune, who permitted him to escape, and, to cover his flight, attacked and slew his pursuers. This was a direct offence against the triumvir, and others followed; for such was the self-confidence of this man, sprung from the proudest of the patrician houses, that the conqueror of Asia seemed to him a meddlesome rival, who must be crushed. Pompey's friends were threatened with accusations: he himself was the butt of unanswerable raillery, which ruined his popularity. At length he came to desire the return of the exiled Cicero. It was proposed by certain of the tribunes, and the entire Senate supported the proposition, even Gabinius, on whom his patron Pompey imposed this recantation. But Clodius sent out his retainers; the consul was wounded, the assembly dissolved, and the matter adjourned. Dazzled by this success, he thought he could with impunity attack the other triumvir, and he asked the Senate to rescind the Julian laws as having been made contrary to the auspices.[1]

It was too much, however, to struggle with Caesar and Pompey at the same time. The latter wrote to his ally among the Gauls to know what he thought of the recall of Cicero;[2] and Sextius, a tribune-elect, was the bearer of the letter,[3] — a proof of the accord

[1] Cic., *Pro Domo*, 15.

[2] "He is only waiting," says Cicero (*Ad Att.* iii. 18), "for a letter from Caesar to have the proposition brought forward by one of his partisans."

[3] *Pro Sextio*, 33.

which still existed between these two powerful men, and also of the high authority Caesar still retained at Rome, where Pompey, the Senate, and the college of tribunes, dared do nothing of importance without making sure of his consent. Caesar now no longer opposed the return of the orator, believing that, after this bitter experience, Cicero would give up the idea that he was an indispensable man; and the triumvirs allowed none but opponents of Clodius to attain office for the following year.

On the 1st of January, B.C. 57, the new consuls[1] having asked for the recall of Cicero, the Senate passed a decree most honorable to the exile; but, when the projected measure was brought before the public assembly, Clodius and his retainers prevented the voting. Cicero advised that he should be fought with his own weapons. There was then upon the tribunes' bench Milo, an individual devoid of talent, but also devoid of scruples, a desperate man, overwhelmed with debt, who could escape his creditors only by obtaining a province to plunder. For this, it was necessary to belong to a party: he gave himself up to Pompey, and Cicero's friends furnished him with the means of enrolling, as Clodius had done, a band of gladiators and assassins.

Such was the powerlessness of the laws and the magistrates, that nothing was now done but under the protection of one or other of these two bands of brigands. Oftentimes they came to blows. In one of these encounters, Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was seriously wounded, and only escaped by hiding beneath some of the slain; a tribune was nearly killed. In order to cast the odium of this attempt upon their foes, the friends of Clodius formed the design of killing another tribune, one of their own party, and then accusing Milo of the murder. So great was the number of deaths "that the corpses obstructed the Tiber, and filled the sewers, and the Forum was inundated with blood."[2] The senators summoned many Italians to Rome; they forbade observa-

[1] They were Lentulus Spinther, one of the judges who had condemned Clodius in his first trial, and Metellus Nepos, Cicero's old enemy, who was a relative of Clodius, but who had been compelled by his relations with Pompey to follow the policy of the latter. Appius, a brother of Clodius, who was afterwards Cicero's predecessor in the government of Cilicia, had succeeded in obtaining the office of praetor.

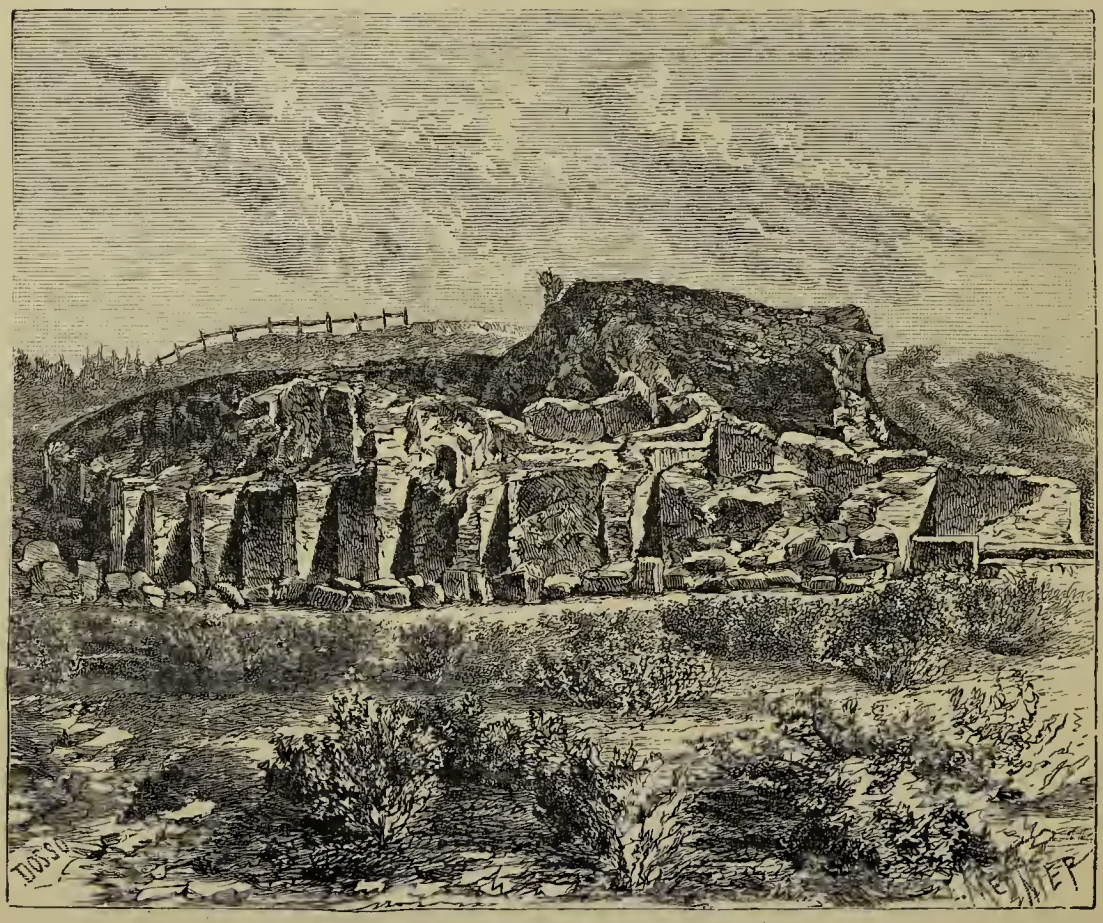
[2] Cic., *Pro Sextio*, 35; *Ad Att.* iii. 10; *Ibid.* iv. 2, 5. [Probably a gross exaggeration. — *Ed.*]

tions of the heavens, which each party made in accordance with its own requirements, and, while Milo kept Clodius in check with his gladiators, the law of recall was passed. After an absence of seventeen months, Cicero entered Rome again, borne aloft, he says, by the arms of all Italy (Aug. 16, 57 B.C.). For a whole year the Senate and Pompey had been solely occupied in bringing about this return of Cicero, while Caesar had employed the time in victoriously concluding three wars.

What were the feelings and the intentions of this man in whose behalf the Senate had suspended all business for six months? The confidence which he formerly felt in himself and in the institutions of his country had been weakened by the triumvirate; and his exile had completely destroyed it. In misfortune all his philosophy had broken down, and he had fallen into a state of deep dejection. "Can I forget," he repeated to his friends, "what I was, and what I have lost?" Far different had been the example set by Rutilius. From this time forth Cicero's conduct ceased to correspond with the greatness of the part he had played six years previously, — a part which he resumed for a few days only on the morrow after Caesar's death. After all, what could he do — he, a *novus homo*, having no family-ties with the aristocracy, — a man whom the nobles taunted with his origin? His scheme of universal conciliation had failed, like that of Drusus. The men of wealth who had rallied round him at a time when all fortunes seemed to be threatened now went where their interest called them, — to those who controlled public works and the tributes of provinces at their pleasure. The orders, the comitia, the Senate, were all but idle words, empty forms, faint memories of a republic which no longer existed. Might was right,[1] and the might lay with him who had most daring. Cicero, who was admirably qualified for the peaceful contests of quiet times, had not sufficient boldness to make a direct attack on the powerful men of the day. Against Catiline he had been energetic and resolute, because a great party supported him, and the cause was won beforehand. Now, when the standard he had at that time raised no longer attracted any man to it, he perceived that, in a republic which is drawing near its end, eloquence may

[1] *Mensuraque juris vis erat* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 175).

give power for a moment, but arms alone can make that power lasting. He found that the nobles did not entertain a sufficiently vigorous hatred for his enemy Clodius, and that they grudged him



RUINS OF CICERO'S HOUSE AT ARPINUM.

the indemnity for his wrecked and plundered houses. "I see clearly," he sadly wrote,[1] "that I have been a complete fool."[2]

[1] *Ad Att.* iv. 5.

[2] *Scio me asinum germanum fuisse.* Cicero at first possessed no fortune. In spite of the *lex Cincia*, the clients whom he protected made him rich presents: one of them, P. Sylla, lent him two million sesterces (seventy-six thousand eight hundred dollars). Citizens put him down, according to the Roman custom, in their wills, and these legacies amounted to twenty million sesterces (*Philipp.* ii. 16): his government of Cilicia brought him in two million two hundred thousand. His wife Terentia had had a dowry of a hundred and twenty thousand drachmae (twenty-one thousand dollars), and she possessed a forest near Tusculum, etc. We know he had four houses at Rome, and at least eight important villas. For the rebuilding of his house at Rome, the Senate allowed him two million sesterces; for the damage done to his villa at Tusculum, five hundred thousand; for the one at Formiae, two hundred and fifty thousand (*Ad Att.* iv. 2), and this he considered far too little (*valde illiberaliter*). He must have put his money to some use, too. Brutus did so, and we know at what a usurious rate, — forty-eight per cent. Victor Leclerc, the enthusiastic editor of Cicero, assigns him eighteen villas, and

Accordingly, in his discouraged mind care for his own interests took the place of political solicitudes, and he whom the Senate and the people had proclaimed "Father of his Country" became Pompey's lieutenant and Caesar's agent.

A short time after his return, a temporary scarcity led to a riot. Shouts of "Death to the Senate!" were uttered; and the rioters threatened to burn the senators in the curia. Cicero hastened to discharge his debt of gratitude to Pompey by supporting a motion conferring upon him the superintendence of provisions for five years, with the inspection of all ports and markets throughout the empire.[1] Pompey liked these extraordinary functions, which placed him beyond the common law; but he would have liked to join to this charge a military command, an army, a fleet, the right of drawing at will upon the treasury, and, finally, authority over all governors of provinces; in his mind he even added to these the conquest of Egypt in order to make that country the granary of Rome. The Senate, who retained all their spite against him, and were secretly encouraged by Crassus and by Caesar's friends, refused to confer the royalty demanded of them, and granted only the superintendence of provisions. It was still a very great office, for it made him "absolute master of the navigation and agriculture of the whole world."[2] He solemnly appointed fifteen lieutenants as if for a difficult business, and Cicero consented to be the first on the list. The orator would have accepted even less, for in the effusion of his gratitude he forgot the position which his talents had won for him. His chief anxiety for the moment was to obtain from the pontiffs the annulment of the consecration, made by Clodius, of the ground on which his dwelling had stood. Acting on the favorable decision of the college, the senators ordered the rebuilding of his house at Rome and of his villa at Tusculum. Clodius dispersed the workmen, and nearly killed Cicero; and on another occasion he attempted to set fire to the houses of Quintus and Milo. Being accused by the latter of these breaches of the peace, he continued them, even while he was canvassing the aedileship; which Milo prevented him from obtaining, only by

thinks that, counting the houses of call, the number may be raised to twenty-three. But it must be said, that, like all great artists, Cicero was a very bad manager.

[1] Cic., *Ad Att.* iv. 1; Livy, *Epit.* civ. [2] Plut., *Pompeius*, 49.

declaring that he himself was observing the heavens, and thus postponing the election.

On the expiration of Milo's tribuneship, Clodius obtained the office of aedile, which put a stop to all prosecution directed against him, and in his turn he accused Milo. Pompey defended him; but Clodius instigated a riot in the crowd round the tribunal, and pursued with the most cutting ridicule the awkward advocate. This scene must be read in Cicero's letters to gain a clear idea of the state at which the Republic and liberty had arrived. "Pompey spoke, or rather tried to do so, for as soon as he rose the band of Clodius began its clamoring, and throughout the speech there was nothing but vociferations and insults. When he had finished, Clodius, in his turn, desired to speak; but our men did the same in his case, and with such a noise that he lost ideas and voice. For two hours, insults and infamous verses were showered upon him. On his side he cried out to his partisans amid the tumult, 'Who wants to starve the people?' And the populace replied, 'Pompey!' — 'Who wants to be sent to Alexandria?' — 'Pompey!' At length they came to blows. Picture to yourself our grave friend, with his solemn vanity and his triumphal airs, receiving these biting epigrams full in his face amid such tumults. He suffered cruelly."

Another matter increased his mortification. Ptolemy Auletes, being expelled by the Alexandrians, had come to Rome, counting for the recovery of his crown on the support of Caesar, whom he had already paid, and on that of Pompey, who lodged him in his house. Feeling himself daily sinking in public opinion, Pompey, in order to escape from this unpleasant situation by some brilliant expedition, sought to obtain the mission of re-establishing the prince. The Egyptians, crushed by the taxes imposed by Auletes, sent a hundred ambassadors to Rome to plead their cause. Some of them were slain on the way; others were bribed. One of them, who would have revealed everything, was assassinated. Pompey, nevertheless, continued his protection of his worthless guest, but did not succeed in having himself appointed to reinstate him in his kingdom. A senatus-consultum conferred that mission upon the governor of Cilicia; and, in order that Pompey might find no pretext for reversing the decision, threatening prodigies appeared, and the Sibylline books were made to speak, forbidding the employ-

ment of soldiers to restore Egypt to the king. Later we shall see how this affair terminated, which was disgraceful from its beginning to its end.

Clodius endeavored to make these presages serve two purposes by directing them also against Cicero. The gods were offended, said he, at the profanation of a piece of ground which he had consecrated to a goddess. The orator replied. But both sides grew weary of this hypocritical contest carried on at the expense of heaven: they returned to blows and violence; and Cicero, supported by Milo, broke the brazen tablets in the Capitol, upon which were engraved the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius. The ex-consul himself became the leader of a band in the city, and he incurred the severe reproaches of Cato, who had just returned from Cyprus. In one of these frays the great orator Hortensius was nearly slain.[1]

HORTENSIUS.[2]

This mission to Cyprus, honorable to Cato, who had accepted it against his own inclination, and had displayed in it his wonted integrity, was not so honorable to Rome. Under pretext that the King of Cyprus, a brother of Auletes, had connived at the proceed-

[1] Cic., *Pro Milone*, 14.

[2] Visconti, *Iconographie romaine*, and Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1049, No. 3213. This bust was found at Hadrian's villa at the same time with that of the philosopher Isocrates.

ings of the pirates, he was ordered, although he had received the title of "Friend of the Roman People," to abdicate his throne. Cato offered him as compensation the rich priesthood of the Venus of Paphos. He preferred to poison himself, and his kingdom was annexed to the province of Cilicia as domain of the Republic. Cato brought back seven thousand talents (about eight million dollars), rich furniture, and all the royal properties. We know that, when Rome plundered palaces and temples, she left nothing behind. It is unfortunate that the name of Cato should be connected with an expedition which looked as if it had been made by highwaymen.

But he was too much of a Roman not to be anxious, when the annoyance of having to commit an injustice was over, for the ratification of his mission, which had added a province to the Empire and a treasure to the *aerarium*. But Cicero sought to annul all the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius as having been accomplished in opposition to the auspices; and the sending of Cato to Cyprus was one of these acts. Hence arose a coolness between Cicero and Cato. Each man regarding only his personal interests, and acting according to his personal likes and dislikes, it seemed as though there was no longer any political party left. The true master of Rome in the year 56 was the aedile Clodius, and who could say what Clodius wished? Pompey, threatened by him, and attacked by Cato, knew not what to do or say. He was afraid of being assassinated: he dared not venture out into the streets of Rome, and only went to the Senate when the assembly was held near his abode. "They have a design against my life," said he to Cicero. "Crassus supports Cato, who instigates suits against my friends. They furnish Clodius with money; they stir up Bibulus, Curio, and many others against me. It is time, unless I want to perish, that I provide for my safety, abandoned as I am by this people who have ears only for babblers, by a hostile nobility, by an unjust Senate, and a depraved youth. I therefore propose to call to my aid the country-people." And Cicero adds, "Clodius is preparing his band; but hitherto we have the advantage in numbers, and we are expecting recruits from Picenum and Gallia Cisalpina. When the bills against Milo and Lentulus come on, we shall be in force."[1]

[1] *Ad Quint.* ii. 3.

Thus real battles replaced legislative discussions, and the orator who had so often been successful on the platform promised himself wonders, not from his eloquence, but from the vigor of his recruits; the vote would be his who had in his service the most stalwart ruffians; whereby we clearly see what violence effected, but can no longer see what has become of liberty. How beautiful are Cicero's words! — *Legum omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus.* But every man now wished to be the law's master, and none was its slave.

LUCCA.[1]

Another thing stands out clearly from the mass of facts just given, — the growing unpopularity of Pompey with the Senate as well as among the people, and consequently the necessity for him to enter into closer relations with the all-powerful conqueror of the Gauls, and the obligation to accept the latter's conditions in exchange for his co-operation.

This is the secret of the conference at Lucca and the explanation of the events of the year 55 B.C., in which the fate of Rome was decided.

[1] Remains of ancient baths in the foreground (from a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

II. — Conference at Lucca (56 B.C.); Extension of Caesar's Powers.

While the capital of the Roman world was thus given over to miserable intrigues, Caesar was pursuing his brilliant career. He seemed to be wholly occupied in his struggle with the Belgae, the Suevi, or the Britons, but, without quitting the provinces, he was present at Rome. Gold, silver, and the spoils of conquest, went thither, to be divided among the aediles, the praetors, and even the consuls and their wives.

But Caesar's fame and this conquest of Rome, effected at the same time as that of Gaul, were to the nobles a fresh source of irritation; and their opposition redoubled against this victor, whom they would willingly have seen vanquished or slain. "Society" took part in the matter. Women at that time held a great place in the Roman world. Every beauty gathered round her a court anxious to win her favor. Fêtes were given, at which all Rome was entertained; and along the enchanted shores of Baiae and Puteoli they turned night into day, or floated indolently over the sleeping waves, amid music, singing, and flowers.[1] Gallant adventures were frequent and much talked of, and the license in speech was as great as in manners. Caesar had risen too high by his victories for men of pleasure not to find, over their cups at the close of a gay repast, some biting piece of scandal against the former sybarite, whose labors were a reproach to their frivolity. Catullus, the most famous poet of the time, who has been called a republican in spite of himself, brought savage epigrams to these suppers. The insults that are fit to quote were the least among them. And the women applauded these invectives against the man who deprived them for war of those whom they would fain have retained for their pleasure. Nor was Pompey spared more than he.

Suetonius has preserved the memory of the *famosa epigrammata*

[1] Cic., *Pro Caelio*, 15: *Libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, convivia, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia.* This oration belongs to the same year as the conference of Lucca (56 B.C.).

of another poet, Licinius Calvus, against the two triumvirs;[1] and these pieces, copied by some, recited by others, with insulting commentaries, passed from hand to hand among the nobility. Wits often judge by the lesser traits of a man's character: the people, who simply feel, receive the vivid impression of great things unresistingly; they were proud of these Gallic victories which wiped out Rome's greatest humiliation, and bore her name so far and so high.[2] Caesar took care to let them be known in the city. A perfectly organized service of couriers quickly brought to Rome the news of his battles;[3] and the bulletins from the great army were a brilliant reply to the malicious verses with which the feigned republicans sought to destroy the proconsul's popularity while awaiting the time when they might destroy himself.

For the time being, they occupied themselves in attempts to deprive him of his army and his provinces. The Senate designated the proconsular provinces eighteen months in advance; and Caesar's *quinquennium*, which had begun in 58, ended in 54: there was ground, therefore, for asking who should replace him.[4] Domitius Ahenobarbus, his old enemy, who was canvassing the consulship for the year 55, loudly declared that he would go at the expiration of his term of office (in 54, that is to say), and put himself at the head of the army in Gaul. A tribune had attacked the Julian law relating to lands, and the debate in the curia had been very stormy. Cicero had been engaged in the matter. The nobility and himself thought the moment had come for putting an end to Caesar's pretensions and to those of Pompey as well. The one was threatened in his command by the sending of a successor, and in his popularity

[1] Calvus was afterwards desirous of being reconciled with Caesar; and the general, who heard of it, wrote to him first; and, when Catullus apologized for his verses, Caesar admitted him to his table the same day (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 73).

[2] "Since Caesar's brilliant successes, all opposition offered to him goes against the popular feeling, and is unanimously condemned," *vehementer recusare* (*Ad Fam.* i. 9).

[3] Two letters from Caesar to Cicero arrived from Britain in twenty-six and twenty-eight days respectively.

[4] Since the Sempronian law, the consular provinces had been selected by the Senate, before the election of the consuls, which took place in July; and the new consuls entered office in the January following. The appointment would therefore take place more than eighteen months before the proconsul in charge ceased his functions. Cicero, in the *De Prov. cons.* (end of May, 56), combats the proposal to dispose of Caesar's provinces; and Domitius declares, that, after his consulship in 55, he would assume the governorship of the Gauls, for the reason that Caesar's powers only expired in 54 B.C.

by the repeal of his laws. The other, scoffed at by the people and repelled as a turncoat by the nobles, found himself exactly where the jealousy of the Senate had placed him five years before, on his return from Asia, when Caesar had saved his honor by obtaining the ratification of the acts of his generalship. Finally, if the Conscript Fathers had no army, they had Milo's band of gladiators, which increased in numbers daily,[1] and this was enough to carry through some disastrous measure unexpectedly. It was high time, then, to take counsel. Caesar made ready for a striking display of his influence and a secret convention, which should insure its duration.

BESTIARIUS.[2]

He was ending the winter at Lucca when the news was spread in Rome, that Crassus and Pompey had repaired thither to meet him, that two hundred senators were paying their court to him, with so large a number of important men that as many as a hundred and twenty fasces of praetors and proconsuls had been seen at his door. Jupiter thundering in a clear sky would have caused far less alarm than did this terrible news. Forthwith de-

[1] See (*Ad Quint.* ii. 6) how Milo, under an assumed name, bought the gladiators whom C. Cato could no longer support.

[2] Marble group which formed part of the Giustiniani Collection. The rarity of the subject renders it peculiarly interesting. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 871, No. 2220.)

fections began to take place among the senators left in Rome, and of these the most important was Cicero's.

In the month of April, 56 B.C., he was still speaking against the triumvirs with as much passion as Domitius, and placed the grotesque Bibulus above all the conquerors in the world. Terrified by this unexpected triumph, which attested Caesar's power at Rome and even in the Senate, he went over to the proconsul's side, blushing at his own want of courage, but openly avowing it. "Yes, it is a recantation," writes he to Atticus. "Farewell to integrity, to truth, and fine maxims; but who could imagine what perfidy there is in our so-called leaders? They have put me forward, and then abandoned me and pushed me over the precipice." And, even while he quoted Plato, he said to himself that he had done enough for the Republic, that it was time to think of repose and security.[1] "I must make an end of it: since those who can do nothing refuse me their friendship, I will seek friends among those who can do much," and he became "more supple than the ear-lap." C. Cato, one of the tribunes, made, it seems, the most violent propositions against Caesar. Cicero styled them detestable and monstrous laws; and he never again let slip an opportunity of praising the proconsul of Gaul, declaring, that, instead of recalling him, he ought to be compelled to remain in his government, if he should wish to leave it before the completion of his illustrious task. It is true that, in his correspondence, Cicero displayed totally different sentiments. This contradiction may be of service in estimating his character and courage; but it concerns his biographers only: his public adhesion, which must have induced that of many others, is all that is of importance to the historian, for it explains the powerlessness of the republicans.

When Pompey, however, returned from Lucca to Rome, there were violent altercations in the Senate. Whilst some persisted in the proposal for Caesar's recall, others demanded for him the right of choosing ten lieutenants, and of drawing upon the treasury for the pay of the six legions which he had added to the four originally comprised in his government. Cicero opposed the former motion,

[1] *Ad Att.* iv. 5: *Ita et esse et fore auricula infima scito molliorem* (*Ad Quint.* ii. 13 [15A]); Letter to Lentulus (*Ad Familiares*, i. 7).

and supported the second: the Senate dared not maintain a contrary opinion.[1] Did they think, in their present ignorance about the agreements made at Lucca, that by this concession they might win over Caesar's friends, whose support would enable them to refuse the demand for a new consulship for Crassus and Pompey? This may be so: at least the senatorial majority immediately turned against the two triumvirs, and decreed a national mourning, which was only assumed in public calamities. Preceded by the consul Marcellinus, and clothed as on funeral days,[2] the senators went down to the Forum in the hope of impressing the popular mind by this display, and obtaining some favorable action from them. It was not for the Republic and for liberty that they wore mourning, but for an oligarchy which felt its end drawing near. Accordingly, when the funeral train advanced, with downcast looks and tearful eyes, and when men saw those once violent hands now stretched suppliantly towards the crowd, the latter replied to this theatrical display of selfish grief by angry jeering. In spite of the order of the Senate, Pompey had retained his ordinary dress, and he sharply censured this seditious proceeding. To his words Clodius added sarcasms and invectives. The discomfited senators hastily returned to the place where they had held their sitting, and, as Clodius was nearly killed in the scuffle, the people were eager to burn the curia and all who were in it.

As the pathetic spectacle had not succeeded, the Senate tried authority, and drew up a decree, whose tenor is not known, which was doubtless, however, intended to restore them the advantage in their struggle with Pompey. A large number of senators favorable to the triumvirs, or bribed by them, prevented its passing. Then Marcellinus, addressing himself directly to Caesar's associates, asked them, "Do you both wish for the consulship, then?" — "Perhaps so," they replied. Every one understood what was meant; and the Senate, recognizing its own inability to prolong the struggle, ceased its functions. "It was impossible," says an old historian, "to assemble the number of members required by

[1] *Ad Familiares*, i. 7.

[2] Dion says further on (xl. 46) that this mourning consisted in laying aside the senatorial toga, and assuming the dress of knights, that is to say, in appearing degraded to a lower class.

the law [1] to pass a decree on the election of the magistrates, and the year ended without the Senate going out of mourning: they were present neither at the public games, nor at the banquet held in the Capitol in honor of Jupiter, nor at the Latin *feriae* at the Alban Mount. As though they had been reduced to slavery, they took no part in any public affair." [2] Even the courts were suspended.

The consular elections had not been made at the usual time; so that every five days it was necessary to appoint an interrex, whose principal duty was to hold the comitia when it was possible to assemble them. The president of these assemblies had a great influence over the election, because, it being his duty to present the list of candidates to the people, he could refuse to put down names which did not suit him. Crassus and Pompey waited till it came to the turn of a senator on whom they could depend, and then put themselves down on the lists. Only one other candidate dared to present himself, — Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cato's brother-in-law. On the day of the voting, as he was on his way to the Forum in the early morning, with many of his clients, a band of men fell upon him; the slave who preceded him was killed, and he had only time to escape, wounded, with Cato: the triumvirs were elected. They filled all offices with their creatures, and prevented the election of Cato as praetor. For the aedileship an actual fight took place in the Campus Martius, in which many were killed or wounded. Pompey's toga was covered with blood. At the sight of this blood-stained robe, Julia believed her husband was slain, and fainted. The accident brought on a premature confinement, and from that time she began to droop. A year later she died in giving birth to a child which did not live; and Caesar, who would have been bound to Pompey by twofold bonds, — as his wife's father and the grandfather of his child, — became estranged from him: in a few years he was his opponent, then his enemy. This family misfortune was to cause many disasters.[4]

SPAIN PERSONIFIED.[3]

[1] Probably a hundred at least: that is the number required by the senatus-consultum *de Bacchanalibus*. See vol. ii. p. 305.

[2] Dion, xxxix. 29, 30. *Curiae taciturnitatem annuam, . . . silentium perpetuum judiciorum ac fori* (Cic., *In Pison.* 14).

[3] On a denarius of the Postumian family.

[4] [If I read rightly Caesar's character, historians have laid far too much stress on this

The triumvirs had assumed the consulship in order to get something more. The tribune Trebonius brought forward a measure giving Spain and Africa[1] to Pompey, and Syria with the neighboring countries[2] to Crassus for five years, with the right to enroll as many soldiers as they required. The plebiscitum did not pass without violence. Cato was once more dragged from the rostra, and carried to prison. The senatorial party had succeeded in putting into the tribuneship two of their own men. One of these, Gallus, in order to appear unexpectedly and oppose his veto at the right moment, came by night, and hid himself in the Curia Hostilia, near the Forum. Trebonius, who knew of this, shut him up in it and kept him there all day: the other, Ateius, being unable to reach the rostra, was lifted upon his clients' shoulders, and cried that Jupiter was thundering: he was answered by blows, was wounded, and several citizens perished, after which Trebonius declared that the people accepted the law (55 B.C.).

AFRICA PERSONIFIED.[3]

Caesar had faithfully carried out the arrangements agreed upon at Lucca.[4] A number of soldiers of the Gallic legions, despatched to Rome under the young Crassus, whose brilliant reputation preceded them thither, had by their vote insured the success of the consular elections; and the author of the Trebonian plebiscitum was one of his agents. Crassus and Pompey had now to fulfil their share of the agreement. On the day after that on which the measure of Trebonius had been voted, the two consuls obtained the passage of a law, called *Licinia-Pompeia*, prolonging Caesar's proconsulship. For how many years? For five years, according to Cicero, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Appian, Plutarch, and Caesar; for three, according to Dion. Common sense, agreeing

family event. I cannot think that Julia's being alive would have made the smallest difference in the policy of either Caesar or Pompey. Whether she would have returned to her father, or staid with her husband, seems uncertain, but of no political importance. — *Ed.*]

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 18, and Plut., *Pomp.* 52. Africa continued to have special governors; but they were placed under the superior authority of Pompey, who, for his superintendence of provisions, needed to hold command in the province, which was looked upon as Rome's granary.

[2] Καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς (Dion. xxxix. 33).

[3] AFRICA S. C. Africa, with an elephant's head as head-dress, holds a scorpion in her right hand; her left arm leans upon a horn of plenty; in front of her are some ears of wheat.

[4] Ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 18).

with the oldest texts, indicates that this prolongation must have been equal in duration to the proconsular powers which Crassus and Pompey had just obtained, and that Caesar could not consent to leave his rivals, as would have happened on Dion's hypothesis, in possession of armies, provinces, and treasures, when he himself became simply a private individual.

Pompey, who owed to Caesar his extrication from a position of hopeless difficulty, could not so soon break his word to him. Caesar was therefore, as the writers of most authority say, continued in his proconsulship for five years. He had the right to choose ten lieutenants, and to draw, like Pompey, upon the public treasury for the pay of his legions, instead of furnishing it out of the spoils of war, thus leaving vast resources in his hands. Finally a second consulship was promised him for the year 48,[1] and a later law authorized him to canvass for it while absent.[2] The *triarchy*, or government by three, was re-established.

This time Crassus and Pompey thought they had established equality between themselves and their colleague: they had as many provinces, and they could have as many legions, as the proconsul of the Gauls. They even had the advantage over him, of being in possession of the consulship; and Pompey still retained his superintendence of provisions, which permitted his remaining at the centre of government. But in meditating a struggle with the Parthians, which should procure him the same renown and wealth that Caesar had obtained in Gaul, Crassus overestimated his strength. By taking Spain and Africa, which were peaceable provinces save for a few local revolts, Pompey found neither fame nor spoils for his legions; and the right which he retained of remaining at Rome was the cause of his ruin. At the decisive moment, Gaul and the Caesarians separated the Pompeian legions from their leader; that is to say, when the inevitable rupture took place, Pompey was defeated even before hostilities had commenced.

The year 55 passed away without any important events; and the

[1] Our texts do not mention it; but neither do they speak of the agreements concluded at Lucca, because these things are not openly declared: subsequent facts prove that the engagement must have been entered into.

[2] See pp. 399, 400.

triumvirs, confident of the future, allowed Domitius to obtain the consulship, and Cato the praetorship, for the following year: the hatred of either no longer seemed dangerous.[1]

III. — Expedition of Crassus against the Parthians (54 B.C.).

Crassus was sixty years old; he had a large fortune,[2] but he was a man of no intelligence. Loaded with honors, twice consul, his mind untroubled by high and patriotic ideas, he could have quietly enjoyed his wealth and a sufficient amount of public esteem: he would even have found in this voluntary repose what the sage seeks when he reached the wane of life, the *otium cum dignitate*. But his ambition was the ambition of small minds, who desire power, and either know not what to do with it, or else use it ill. He wished to raise himself to the stature of Pompey and Caesar. For sixteen years he had not been in camp, and during these years Pompey had pacified Asia, Caesar had conquered Gaul. Crassus was anxious to revive by fresh exploits the fading memory of his former successes and to equal the renown of his two rivals. The proconsul of the Gauls had penetrated into the extreme West: he, a new Alexander, would fain cross the Indus, and seek beyond the Ganges the utmost limits of the East. Caesar and Pompey encouraged him in his rash enterprise in order to accustom the Romans to those great commands which the true Republic had never known. Crassus did not even wait till the expiration of his consular magistracy: by the 28th of October he had completed his final preparations. But an unexpected opposition broke out against this war. There were eight legions in Gaul, and others in Spain, Africa, and Italy; and now the Syrian expedition called for seven more to proceed into unknown dangers, in contempt of

[1] In the preceding year Cato would have been appointed praetor, had not Pompey, seeing that the prerogative century was giving him its vote, stopped the election by declaring that he had heard thunder (Plut., *Pomp.* 52). In the elections for the year 54 the canvassing had been shameful; but the aristocracy had made this great effort too late: the triumvirs were secure.

[2] Though he had during his first consulship consecrated the tenth of his goods to Hercules, given a banquet of ten thousand tables to the people, and distributed to each citizen corn for three months, he still possessed, before the Parthian expedition, seventy-one hundred talents (about eight million five hundred thousand dollars) (Plut., *Crassus*, 2 and 12).

treaties and of the Sibylline oracles. The Senate had refused the necessary decree; and the people, incited by the two tribunes of the party of the nobles, had opposed the departure of Crassus: Pompey had to open a way for him through the crowd by walking before him. At the city-gates he found the fierce Ateius, who poured libations and incense on a burning brazier, while he pronounced against him, against his army, and even against Rome, the most terrible imprecations.

Since Pompey's administration, the face of things had undergone no change in the East. Aemilius Scaurus, his quaestor, whom he had left in Syria with two legions, to keep the Arabs in check, had sold peace and war there for three years. His two successors (59–58) had done nothing remarkable, either good or bad, during their brief administration. Yet Syria, placed between Egypt and the Parthians, offered many resources to an enterprising mind: towards the Euphrates there was military fame to be won; towards Pelusium, riches to be extorted; and besides only three governors had passed over this recent conquest; it was still a good mine to work. Gabinius, Pompey's former agent and the friend of Clodius, had, after his consulship, caused this province to be assigned him by the tribune, in order to there repair his shattered fortune. A few successful expeditions against the Arabs and Jews, the abolition of royalty in Palestine (which he divided into five provinces, each ruled by a sovereign council), won for him the title of Imperator. But the Senate, urged on by Cicero, his personal enemy, and by the publicans, whose rapines he had arrested that he himself might have the more to take, had refused to decree *supplicationes* for him. A second revolt of the Jews had shown the indomitable character of that little nation. Gabinius had left to his quaestor, Mark Antony, — a rude, coarse soldier of distinguished bravery, — the task of chastising them, in order to leave himself free for a more lucrative expedition against the Parthians. Their king had just been assassinated by two of his sons, who had afterwards disputed for the crown; and the weaker of the two implored the aid of Gabinius, promising to guide the legions. Already the Roman general had passed the Euphrates, when, won over by an offer of ten thousand talents, he retraced his steps to go, in spite of the Senate and the Sibylline books, to Alexandria, to re-establish

Ptolemy Auletes; and he afterwards sold this prince the half of his army. This shameful expedition was ended, and he was preparing to resume his march to the Euphrates, when Crassus arrived. At Rome an accusation of treason was brought against Gabinius. He bought his acquittal; but in a second trial, in which Cicero had the baseness to defend him in order to gratify Pompey, Gabinius was niggardly towards his judges, and so was condemned to exile.[1]

Crassus embarked his army at Brundusium, and, as it was the bad season, he dared not trust his fleet to sail round Greece, and reach the coasts of Syria through the sea of the Cyclades. These Romans were poor sailors, but excellent roadsters. Crassus, disembarking at Dyrrachium, followed the via Egnatia through Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; he crossed the Hellespont, no doubt about Lampsacus, and reached Galatia, where he found King Dejotarus engaged, notwithstanding his great age, in building a new town. "Your Majesty begins to build at the twelfth hour," said Crassus. To which the Galatian replied, "Neither do you, O general! undertake your Parthian expedition very early."

Crassus traversed the whole of Asia Minor, and entered Syria from the north. The Parthians originally inhabited a great country bounded on the south, west, and north by the mountains of Persis, of Media, and Hyrcania, and extending on the east in barren plains towards Aria and Margiana. They resembled their neighbors, the Scythians, being, like them, excellent horsemen and incomparable archers. In the middle of the third century before our era, they had one of those able chiefs who in a few years prepare a new fortune for a nation. Arsaces shook off the yoke of Alexander's indolent successors, and founded the Parthian monarchy, all the kings of which took his name, and were called Arsacides. The sixth was a great prince, a legislator and conqueror, who overcame the Greek king of Bactriana, Eucratidas,[3] ruled from the Indus to the Euphrates, and in 138 B.C. took Demetrius Nicator, King of Syria, prisoner.

ARSACES VI.[2]

[1] Concerning Gabinius, see Cic., *De Prov. cons.*; App., *Syr.* 51; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 4 *sqq.*; and *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. This proconsul, who has almost been ranked beside Verres, had yet done good in Judaea, where he rebuilt twenty towns. Josephus speaks of him with esteem.

[2] From a silver coin of Arsaces VI., also called Mithridates I.

[3] There remains a unique gold coin of this prince. It weighs twenty staters (221⅔

P. Sellier, del.

Imp A. Lemercier Paris

GOLD COIN OF EUCRATIDAS

Having become masters of Asia, the Parthians quickly exchanged their camel-hair tents for sumptuous palaces, their skin tunics for flowing robes,[1] their coarse manners for habits of refined effeminacy. They retained, however, some remnant of their original vigor; a valiant nobility surrounded the prince. In case of war he could summon to his standard eighteen kings, whom he had made satraps in his empire; and his mail-clad horsemen, the *cataphracti*, were held, after the defeat of Crassus, to be irresistible.[2]

The Arsacides, who were enemies of the Armenians, sought the alliance of Rome at the time when the contests of Tigranes began with the great Republic. In 92 B.C. Arsaces IX. sent deputies to Sylla;[3] and Arsaces XII. renewed this alliance during the war of Lucullus with the kings of Pontus and Armenia. But, when he proposed to Pompey to fix the frontier between the two empires at the Euphrates, the proconsul returned no answer, and refused to recognize the prince's title of "King of kings." This was a means of reserving for Roman ambition all future contingencies. The civil war which a few years later shook the Parthian Empire seemed likely to reduce it to that state of semi-subjection, which, for States bordering on Rome, was the forerunner of approaching absorption. Gabinius had been on the point of re-establishing in Seleucia, Mithridates, one of the parricidal sons of Arsaces XII. Had he made this expedition, he would no doubt have left a garrison in the royal city, as he did in Alexandria; and the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, would have become the eastern frontier of Rome. But the promises of Ptolemy Auletes

grains); the thickness is .12342 inches, and the diameter 3.2677 inches. I bought it in 1867, on the information of M. Chabouillet, for thirty thousand francs, half of which was furnished by the budget of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and the remainder given by the Emperor. Our cabinet could now easily dispose of it for a hundred thousand francs.

[1] *Illic et laxas vestes et fluxa virorum velamenta vides* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 331).

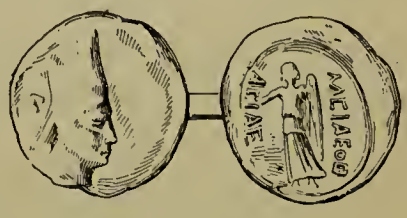
[2] Among the troops of the King of Armenia there were also cataphracti, and Lucullus easily overcame them: but he was a different kind of general from Crassus, and had chosen his own battlefield. The Romans at length formed squadrons of cataphracti: no other horsemen were known in the middle ages, and we still have them under the name of cuirassiers. The Parthian troopers had no shield, that they might draw the bow more easily, and in the plains of Mesopotamia that projectile was far superior to the hand-weapons of the legionaries. (Dion, xl. 15.)

[3] Vol. ii. p. 668.

overcame those of Mithridates; and the Parthian prince, having attempted alone to overthrow his brother Orodes, was besieged, taken, and slain by him in Babylon.

Notwithstanding his death, there remained disturbances enough in the kingdom for an able man to have profited by them. Crassus gave himself time neither to become acquainted with the country, nor to enter into useful intrigues with the malcontents and the neighboring nations, who would have furnished him with a numerous cavalry: he hastened to cross the Euphrates, took a few towns, dispersed some troops, and caused himself to be proclaimed Imperator for these slight successes. But instead of advancing boldly upon Babylon and Seleucia, since the enemy did not seem ready to defend themselves, and rapidly securing those two cities which held the Parthian rule in detestation, he returned to winter in Syria, where he allowed his army to relax its discipline (54 B.C.). He himself, notwithstanding his sixty-one years, busied himself only in visiting the temples, and despoiling them of their treasures: those at Hierapolis and Jerusalem were plundered; from the latter he carried off two thousand talents.[2] An embassy from Orodes having asked an explanation of this violation of the territory of the Empire, Crassus boastfully replied, that he would give an answer at Seleucia. Upon which the eldest of the envoys laughed, and, showing the palm of his hand, said, "Hair will grow here, before you will see Seleucia." Artavasdes, King of Armenia, joined him with six thousand mail-clad horsemen, and offered a passage through his kingdom, where the Roman army would find provisions, secure roads, ground favorable to Roman tactics, and the assistance of thirty thousand Armenians. Crassus refused.

ARTAVASDES.[1]



COIN OF ARTAVASDES.[3]

[1] Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1035, No. 3053.

[2] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 7.

[3] Head of Artavasdes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; Victory marching. Bronze coin of Artavasdes.

Having decided to cross the plains of Mesopotamia in order to reach Ctesiphon, the new capital of the Parthian Empire, more quickly, he crossed the Euphrates again at Zeugma with seven legions and four thousand horse. A violent storm destroyed the bridges behind him. The legate Cassius proposed to follow the Euphrates, and have a flotilla loaded with provisions descend the stream. But an Arab chief, sent by the Parthians to draw Crassus into their arid plains, persuaded him that he had only to show himself to conquer, and that he had need to hasten, if he wished to seize their treasures, which they were preparing to send away into the country of the Hyrcanians and Scythians. The proconsul followed this treacherous advice, and entered upon that sea of sand, where his soldiers soon lacked everything, even confidence in their leader (53 B.C.).

COIN OF ZEUGMA.[1]

The Parthians had divided their forces. Orodes was operating in the North with his infantry, with a view of arresting the King of Armenia as he came out of the mountains; and the *surena*, or commander-in-chief, collected an innumerable body of cavalry in the West to surround the heavy Roman infantry in the midst of these immense plains. The two armies met not far from the little river Balissus (Belik). The younger Crassus, who, after a brilliant career in Gaul, had joined his father in the east, was in command of the cavalry, and was eager for the encounter. Suddenly the hostile army, apparently small in number, spread itself out; the plain resounded with shouts and outcries; and a formidable body of horsemen, mail-clad, and yet rapid in their movements, dashed upon the legions formed in a square. The close ranks of the Romans resisted the shock; but their arms of short range were useless. If they advanced, the Parthians fled; if they halted, the squadrons wheeled round the motionless mass, and from a distance riddled it with arrows.[2] The light infantry which Crassus sent out against

[1] ΖΕΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ, instead of ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ, the name of the inhabitants of Zeugma. Reverse of a great bronze of the Emperor Philip, struck at Zeugma.

[2] The weapon used by the Romans was the *pilum*, which did not go very far, and especially the sword:

Ensis habet vires, et gens quaecunque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis (Lucan, *Phars.* viii.).

them, soon, in disorder, took refuge in the midst of the square. He hoped that at length these terrible arrows would be exhausted; but, as soon as the soldiers of the first line had emptied their quivers, they retired into the rear-guard, where camels carried immense supplies. The proconsul ordered his son to break up this circle of men, horses, and arrows, which incessantly surrounded the legions. Young Crassus charged at the head of thirteen hundred horse, of whom a thousand were Gauls. The enemy yielded, drew him far from the field of battle, with a part of the infantry, which followed him at the sight of a flying enemy; then they wheeled, and surrounded him. What could their javelins do against these men all covered with iron? For a few moments there was an heroic struggle, a hand-to-hand fight, the Gauls doing valiant service; and when their intrepid young leader, covered with wounds, was no longer able to fight, they carried him to a hillock, and formed a wall around him with their shields. But throughout the extent of the plain there were only hostile squadrons to be seen: flight and resistance were alike impossible. Two Greeks urged young Crassus to escape with them; but he rejoined that he would in no case be parted from his friends, who were dying upon his account, and upon this ordered his armor-bearer to run him through with his sword.

The consul had taken advantage of the lull in the principal attack to reach a hill. He believed the victory secure, when the enemy's cavalry came back, and, with shouts of joy and insulting words, exhibited his son's head in the face of the legions. The battle recommenced and lasted till night, with the same vicissitudes. At length the Parthians departed, shouting to the unhappy father that they left him a night to bewail his son. Lying on the ground in gloomy dejection, Crassus felt the full depth of the abyss into which his ambition had plunged him. In vain did Cassius try to restore his courage: he himself was obliged to give the order for retreat, abandoning four thousand wounded. They reached the town of Carrhae; but it was impossible to make a stand there: in the evening the army noiselessly departed. Being led astray by their guides, they were again met by the Parthians; and the terrified soldiers forced the triumvir to accept an interview with the *surena*. It was a snare. Crassus and his escort were massacred (June 8, 53 B.C.).

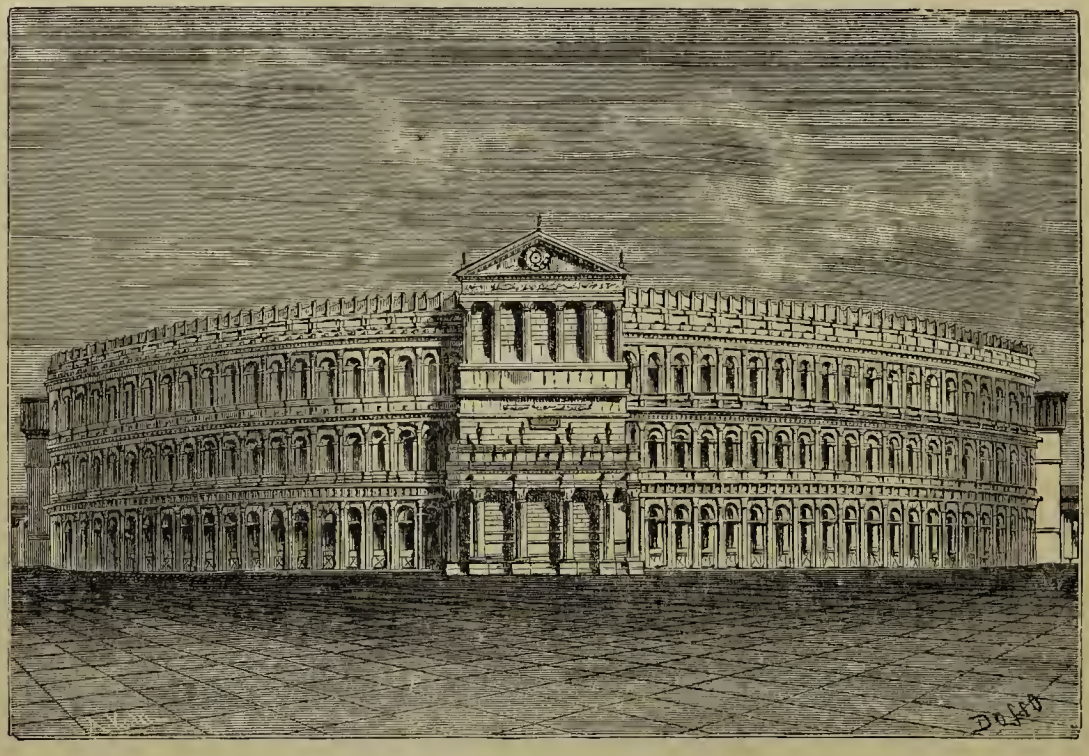
When they brought the triumvir's head to Orodes, the barbarian king was witnessing a performance of the *Bacchae* of Euripides. The actor seized the hideous trophy, and sang as Agave, who held the head of Pentheus: "We bring from the mountains this stag, which has just been slain; we go to the palace. Applaud ye our hunting."

Some feeble remnants of the seven legions succeeded in recrossing the Euphrates. Cassius, who had quitted Carrhae before his general, and reached Syria in safety, had time to organize a defence, and, when the Parthians appeared in the following year, he repulsed them (52). A second and more formidable attempt, which they made under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of their king, succeeded no better (51). Cassius, shut up in Antioch, allowed them to plunder the province, and, when he saw them confident and in disorder, he marched rapidly upon them, and inflicted a defeat which freed Syria. It was a doubly fortunate success; for the Senate had just made the mistake of sending into the provinces threatened by the Parthians two of its members most incapable of leading an army, — Bibulus into Syria, and Cicero into Cilicia. It was the drawing of lots, that, in virtue of a recent law of Pompey's, had assigned to them these two governments. The decisions of the blind god had very frequently been rectified or forestalled; but this time nothing was done. Fortunately, Bibulus reached his province after the victory of Cassius; and Cicero never even saw the enemy who had just been driven back across the Euphrates. Emboldened by this retreat, and eager to add the soldier's fame to that of the orator, Cicero ordered his brother Quintus, who had learned the art of war under Caesar, to make Rome's hand felt by certain mountaineers in Cilicia. Quintus burnt several towns, took the stronghold of Pindenissus, and caused his brother to be proclaimed Imperator by the troops. From that time, Cicero never ceased to claim a triumph; and until the middle of the civil war, when the world was held in suspense by the great struggle between Caesar and Pompey, he was to be seen wandering about in Italy and Epirus with his lictors, bearing laurel-wreathed fasces, — a miserable vanity, which lowers our esteem for the foe of Catiline and Antonius, the author of the "De Officiis" and the "Verrine Orations."

The disaster of Crassus long restrained the rule of Rome from spreading beyond the Euphrates. Later we shall see why it was difficult to cross the river, and why, under valiant rulers, Rome only did so through the north of Mesopotamia.

IV.—New Disorders in Rome; Pompey Sole Consul (52 B.C.).

During the disastrous expedition of Crassus, Pompey had remained at Rome. He had sought to consolidate his influence by the magnificence of the games which he gave as the inauguration

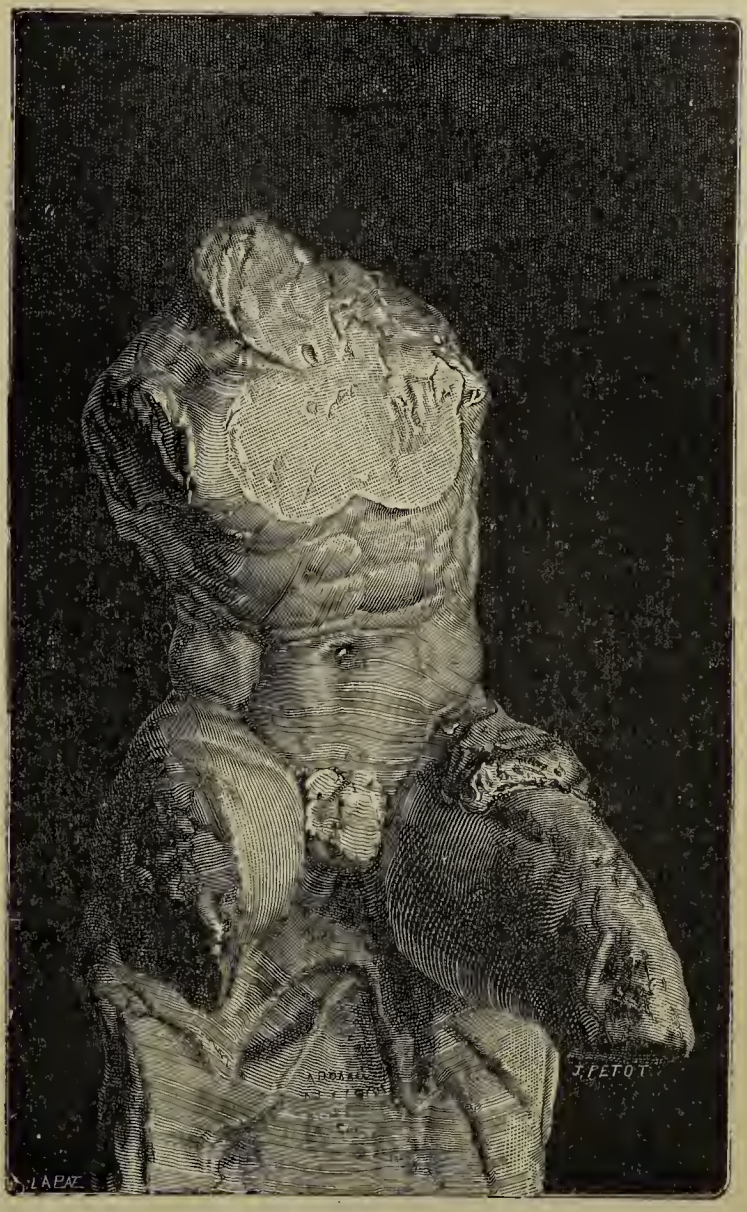


POMPEY'S THEATRE.[1]

of his theatre: forty thousand spectators were accommodated, and five hundred lions were slain. At the expiration of his consular year, he had sent lieutenants to Spain, and, under the pretext of

[1] As restored by M. Victor Baltard (*École des beaux-arts*). It was the first theatre at Rome built of stone. Hitherto the censors had only authorized temporary wooden theatres; but Pompey placed a temple on the summit of his, and the marble benches upon which the spectators sat, having now become the steps of a sanctuary, were respected. The law was thus violated, as the Romans were wont to violate their laws, without disrespect.

fulfilling the duties of his office concerning provisions, he had remained near Rome. This consulship, for which the city had so long been troubled, had produced no results,[1] none at least, in useful reforms, but many for the ambitious general who had appropriated so great personal advantages. When we compare this sterility with the fruitful activity of Caesar in 59,[2] we have the measure of the two men.



TORSO FOUND NEAR POMPEY'S THEATRE.[3]

On laying down the fasces, Pompey left the Republic in the most deplorable condition. All was literally estimated in gold, — the merit of candidates as well as the innocence of accused persons; and the Forum was merely a market, where men bought votes, offices, and provinces. Gabinius had sold Egypt for ten thousand

[1] The legislative activity of Pompey and Crassus during their second consulship was only marked by a useless proposal of a sumptuary law, which was not accepted (Dion, xxxix. 37), and by a law to raise the census requisite for being a judge, which had no effect except to increase the price for which judges sold themselves.

[2] See p. 204 *sqq.*

[3] It is thought that this admirable torso, which was discovered in the fifteenth century, near the spot where Pompey's Theatre stood (now *Campo de Fiore*), formed part of a statue of Hercules seated, at the moment when the hero became a god upon Mount Oeta. The inscrip-

talents to Ptolemy Auletes, and robbed the Syrians of a hundred million drachmae: he had even revolted against Rome, despising the senatus-consultum and the Sibylline books, leaving his province, notwithstanding the express prohibitions of the law, and refusing to deliver up his government to the successor sent out to replace him. The displeasure against him in the Senate was very great, less on account of the illegalities he had committed than of this immense wealth, which seemed as if it would leave nothing for his successors. In spite of Pompey's protection, he was condemned. A single fact will show how far the general depravity extended. C. Memmius, writes Cicero, had just read in open Senate an election bargain made between him and his fellow-candidate Domitius on the one side, and the two consuls in office on the other. By this treaty, Memmius and Domitius engaged, on condition of being appointed consuls for the following year, either to pay to the consuls in office four hundred thousand sesterces, or to procure (1) three augurs to affirm that they had been present at the promulgation of a *lex curiata* which did not exist, and (2) two ex-consuls to declare they had attended a session for the distribution of consular provinces, — a session which had never taken place.[1] "How many dishonest folk in a single contract!" says Montesquieu. Let us add that four hundred thousand sesterces for such an audacious double lie was valuing the consciences of consuls and augurs at a very low price. But the people did not hold themselves at a very high one: Verres had bought his praetorship for only eighty thousand sesterces.

Hand in hand with venality went violence. Every moment there were arrows, stones, helter-skelter flight; not a day passed without some murder;[2] even a consul was wounded. A certain Pomptinus had waited seven years outside the Pomoerium for a triumph which

tion cut upon the rock, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Apollonios, son of Nestor the Athenian, made it), gives us the name of the author of the masterpiece and the time when he lived; for the form Ω belongs to the last days of the Republic. Pompey may have employed the Athenian artist, then, upon the decoration of his theatre. This masterpiece is in the Vatican. (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*)

[1] *Ad. Att.* iv. 18. When Cicero canvassed the aedileship, all the people had been for him; yet the *divisores* undertook, for five hundred thousand sesterces, to cause his failure (*In Verr.* I. 8). During the elections of the year 54, the interest on money rose in the city from four to eight per cent (*Ad. Att.* iv. 15).

[2] Σφαγαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν (Dion. xl. 48). Cicero had said (*In Pison.* 12): . . . *fracti fasces, ictus consul, quotidie tela, lapides, fugae.*

the Senate refused to accord him over the Allobroges. At length one of the praetors, who was his friend, gathered together a few citizens at daybreak; and in defiance of the law, which forbade all assemblies before the first hour (from six to seven o'clock in the morning), he caused them to vote what Pomptinus wished. This persevering candidate celebrated his triumph, but amidst very great disorder. Fighting went on at several points, and some were slain. For the most paltry ambitions, for the smallest things, the laws were violated, and blood flowed.[1]

Imagine, in such a state of society, Cato, then praetor, going without tunic or shoes to sit on his judgment-seat, and distributing among the populace, instead of the ostentatious profusions to which they were accustomed, radishes, lettuce, and figs, or proposing, after the extermination of the Tencteri and Usipii, that Caesar should be given up to the Germans as a violator of the public peace, and it will be easily understood that this opposition did not go beyond a protest, which did no good, and excited the contempt of all — except Favonius, "Cato's ape."

These two men, who thought themselves Romans of the ancient time, did not change; but many others had changed. We have seen the rapid change of front effected by Cicero at the time of the conference of Lucca. This excellent man, who in a peaceful state would have honorably kept the foremost place, was in this stormy republic drawn in opposite directions by his ideas and by his interests: now one side carried him away, now the other, for he was as poor in strength of character as he was rich in talents. For the moment, his interests attached him to Caesar, whom he wearied with praises. He had commenced a poem in honor of the proconsul, and took care to let him know of it: the poem being finished, he sent it to him, and then began another.[2] Caesar, who always treated the great orator with consideration, through respect for his talents, took his brother Quintus as lieutenant, and intrusted Cicero with the expenditure of a portion of the funds transmitted by him to Rome for his buildings. When Quintus reproached his brother for having obliged him to accept this lieutenancy, with its fatigues and dangers, in a country which

[1] Dion, xxxix. 65; in the year 54 B.C.

[2] *Institutum ad illum poema . . . cognovit Caesar* (*Ad Quint.* iii. 8).

seemed to Cicero himself to be at the world's end:[1] "The reward of this sacrifice," he answered, "will be the consolidation of our political position by the friendship of a powerful and good man." We see what the limit of his desires was. He did not even fear the imminent dictatorship of Pompey: he speaks of it without indignation, as of any other event. "Does Pompey wish for it? Does he not wish for it? Who knows? But all men are talking about it." "And all," adds Appian, "wish it." It was said

RUINS OF THE CIRCUS OF BOVILLAE.[2]

openly, "For the present ills there is only one remedy, — the authority of a single individual."[3] Pompey protested against it; but all the while he secretly encouraged the disorders which rendered this dictatorship necessary. At least, many among the conservatives believed that they could trace his hand in the disturbances.

For the second time within three years, the consular elections could not be held (in 53): the interregnum lasted seven months. For the sake of peace, the nobles drew nearer the threatening

[1] *Ubi isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint, nescio* (*Ad Quint.* iii. 8).

[2] According to Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 49.

[3] *Bell. civ.* ii. 19–20. The picture this historian draws of the Republic is that of a society in a state of decomposition.

Sphinx, whose wishes could be guessed, but who still continued to conceal them. While appearing to believe in his disinterestedness, they forced him, by well calculated flatteries, to allow two consuls to be elected in the seventh month. Either because this government was really incapable of enduring any longer, or else through Pompey's intrigues, or perhaps by reason of these two causes combined, the interregnum began again in the following year (52 B.C.). Milo and Scipio and Hypsaeus demanded the consulship with arms in their hands; Clodius canvassed the praetorship in the same manner; and every day some sedition broke out.[1]

Amid many obscure murders, there was one which brought the disorder to its highest pitch. Milo, on his road to Lanuvium, his native town, of which he was chief magistrate (dictator), met Clodius on the Appian Way, near Bovillae. Like the Roman barons of the middle ages, neither travelled without his escort of fighting-men. The two bands had passed each other, when a couple of Milo's gladiators, remaining behind, picked a quarrel with some of the followers of Clodius. The latter, turning back to the help of his men, was wounded, and took refuge in a hostelry. Milo thought it would cost no more trouble to despatch him, and, as his band was numerous, the other party fled, leaving eleven dead on the spot. The door of the inn was then broken in, the innkeeper slain, Clodius stabbed through and through, and his body thrown out into the road, where it remained till evening. A senator, returning from his villa, took it back to Rome[2] (December 13, 53 B.C.). Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, his family, the powerful Claudian *gens*, and the people, whose favorite he had long been, cried for vengeance. The body was exposed on the rostra, and the excited mob gave him for a funeral-pyre the edifice wherein the Senate was wont to meet. When they had burnt the curia, they proposed to set fire to Milo's house, then to that of the interrex; but knights and senators hastened up in arms, and fighting and slaughter went on for several days. Robbers and thieves took advantage of these murders to ply their trade. Under pretext of searching for Milo's accomplices, they penetrated into the houses and stole; in

[1] . . . *Armis et vi contendebant* (Livy, *Epit.* cvii.).

[2] The murder took place on the 13th of the kalends of February, 52 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar: in reality it was on the 13th of December, 53 B.C.

the streets they murdered those whose rich costume or gold rings promised to make it profitable work to strip their bodies.[1] Politics, or what was so called, screened all excesses.

We can easily understand that these abominations at last had the effect of opening the eyes of those who had persistently kept them shut, in order to escape seeing that the only way to save perishing social life was the concentration of power in the hands of an energetic leader. A senatus-consultum decided that the burnt curia should be rebuilt, at the expense of the treasury, by Faustus Sylla, and that it should bear his father's name. By this unexpected homage to the memory of the executioner of the Marians, the senatorial majority showed at the same time its sentiments regarding the nephew of Marius, and its grateful remembrance of the man, who, thirty years before, had restored order by his dictatorship. Cato had recently again attacked Pompey in the Senate. "He disposes of everything," said he: "lately he lent Caesar six thousand men, without the one asking you for them, or the other informing you about it. Arms and horses, a whole legion, are the presents which individuals now exchange. With his title of 'Imperator' Pompey distributes armies and provinces, while he remains in the city, and plans troubles and seditions in order to open by anarchy a road to regal power."[2] But, in face of the imminent dissolution of the State, Cato, too, came to despair of the Republic. He saw it threatened by two dangers, — within, by anarchy, which was only too certain; without, by Caesar, who had not yet, however, either by acts or words, justified his suspicions; and when he looked for some one who would defend the aristocracy, he found, even in those whom Cicero had called the party of honest men, so much indifference, that at length he decided to demand for it from a man the protection which the laws could no longer afford. "It is better," said he, "to choose a master than to await the tyrant who must certainly rise from this huge disorder;" and he supported the proposal made by Bibulus to appoint Pompey sole consul. He thought, that, satisfied with this title,

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 22.

[2] Plut., *Cato*, 45. In the preceding year 53 an attempt had been made to bring forward in the Senate the question of the recall of Crassus (Cic., *Ad Fam.* v. 8): this was an indirect attack upon Caesar.

Pompey would use his power with moderation, that he would re-establish order in the city, and would be able to compel Caesar to leave his army. This task being accomplished, Cato promised himself later to bring Caesar to a reckoning with the Senate. If he failed, this dictatorship would at least have only been a passing and beneficent tyranny. Pompey confirmed him in this hope by pretending to act henceforth only according to his advice; and the latter was elected sole consul on the 27th of February, 52 B.C.

This event was a grave one; for it completed Pompey's reconciliation with the Senate and his rupture with the proconsul of the Gauls. For two years this result had been foreseen. The death of Julia — the devoted wife of Pompey, and Caesar's idolized daughter — had broken a bond which both of them would have respected (54); and after the death of Crassus (53) they found themselves face to face, without any one standing between to avert or break the shock. A rivalry of three may last, because one of the three preserves the balance by inclining to either side: a rivalry of two soon leads to war. Pompey had long seen the falseness of the position which his own fickleness and his adversary's skill had made for him: he was only waiting for the support of the Senate to break with his great rival; and now the nobles and even Cato were offering him, by a violation of all constitutional provisions, an unshared dominion.

Being proconsul of Spain, he was legally considered as absent, that is to say, incapable of being elected to an urban office; and yet the consulship was bestowed upon him. This supreme magistracy of the city ought always to be shared; and he was sole consul. If he wished for a colleague, it was he himself, and not the comitia, who should make the selection, and, still further, he was protected from his own possible disinterestedness by a prohibition against supplying himself with this once necessary colleague until after the expiration of two months.[1] The consul had not in Rome military authority, the *jus necis;* Pompey, remaining governor of a province, kept the *imperium*, and, that none might dispute his right to exercise it in the city, the Senate had also invested him with dictatorial authority by the formula of days of public peril: *Caveat*

[1] At the end of five months he associated his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, with himself.

consul. Finally, to power was added the means of aetion: a deeree laid the treasury open to him, and direeted him to raise troops in Italy. He was then master, and in the way that he wished, still keeping up appearances, sinee he had taken nothing by foree and held all from the Senate. But who does not see that the aristoeraey founded the Empire? It is suffieient to eompare Pompey's powers with those of Augustus to see that they are almost identieal; for the imperial revolution was but the coneentration in the hands of one man, for his lifetime, of the rights whieh the Republie yearly divided among several.

While the nobles, through hatred of Caesar and powerlessness to govern,[1] were saerifieing what they ealled Roman liberty to an ineapable leader, the proeonsul, whom they would fain have proscribed, disdaining their senile threats, was earrying on for Rome that wonderful eampaign of the year 52 B.C., whieh plaeed him on a level with Hannibal, and held Gaul captive in Alesia.

In order to explain the violenee of this hatred, we must remember that the nobles had very serious reasons for detesting Caesar; but history is bound to inquire whether these motives were legitimate. The real question between them was the upholding or the overthrow of the Cornelian legislation, whieh had taken everything from the people, and given it to the Senate. Although many breaehes had been made in the aristocratic fortress, some even by the hand of Pompey, it still held out and remained standing. The nephew of Marius wished to foree its gates. Without the commission of any illegal act, simply by his raising the popular party which had been crushed by Sylla, the nobles had been made to tremble for their power, and they trembled still more for their possessions. Caesar's consular laws, had they been earried into exeeution, would have dried up the source whenee they drew their wealth: with a word he could even ruin them, by instigating a plebiseitum whieh should authorize the indemnifieation of the fami-

[1] See (*Ad Fam.* i. 7, 5) Cicero's letter to Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He is free to undertake, or not undertake, for the re-instatement of Auletes, the expedition into Egypt, which the Senate allows, and the Sibylline books forbid; but he will be judged by the issue: *Si cecidisset . . . omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos.* Scipio restored to the censors their ancient rights (see p. 397, note 2): they dared not make use of them for fear of the enmity they would arouse, and, adds Dion (xl. 57): "No sensible man any longer requires the censorship."

lies despoiled by Sylla, or should require former generals to restore to the treasury the spoils of war which they had appropriated. The greater part of the fortunes of the oligarchy had been made with gold stolen from the provinces, as in the case of Lucullus, or with land taken from the proscribed, as in the case of Caesar's most violent opponent, that Domitius who possessed so much that he could promise each of his soldiers during the civil war a farm out of his estates. Hitherto the spoilers had kept their robberies out of reach of attack by means of the law, which forbade the sons of Sylla's victims access to public offices. They had hoped to keep the proscription forever in force by thus rendering it impossible that any son of a proscribed man, attaining the tribuneship, should bring forward the dangerous measure calling for restitution. Let Caesar restore their civic rights to those whom a law, odious in its injustice, had attainted, and the oligarchy would lose the immense domains acquired by murder.[2] These were the fears concealed under the accusation of coming tyranny; and history, especially in our days, is not obliged to share this angry feeling. This too,

MARIUS.[1]

[1] Campana Museum. A statue, undoubtedly contemporaneous with the inscription (Wilmann, 632) made for Marius when Augustus ordered that all Rome's distinguished men should be commemorated in his Forum.

[2] This was the first act of Caesar's dictatorship.

is the reason why the senatorial majority would have preferred to unchain a civil war rather than see Caesar consul a second time: this is the secret of the Senate's advances towards Pompey.

The latter owed much to his former colleague, who in 59 B.C. had defended him against the nobles, and in 55 B.C. had loyally contributed to make his present fortune. But when Pompey felt secure of the great position made for him by the Trebonian plebiscitum; when to his superintendence of provisions, which gave him Rome and Italy, he had joined the proconsulship of Spain and Africa, which supplied him with provinces and armies, — he no longer retained for the proconsul of the Gauls more than a polite consideration, which ceased with Julia's life. In vain did Caesar propose to consolidate their political alliance by a double family tie; Caesar marrying one of Pompey's daughters, and he marrying a grand-niece of Caesar. Pompey refused, and brought into his house the daughter of a mortal enemy of his former father-in-law.[1] Caesar's friendship, which he had endured for ten years, weighed upon his pride; and the renown which had become so great was an annoyance to him. Henceforward he intended to share with no man, and we shall see how he made use of his consular authority to annul the advantages which in 55 B.C. he had been compelled to obtain for the proconsul of the Gauls.

First he wished to show that all men must come to an understanding with him. He proposed new laws against corruption, violence, and bribery,[2] giving them a retrospective effect of twenty years. The proconsul was hurt at this; for with these laws a partisan of the nobles might summon him before judges easy to corrupt or intimidate. Cato himself thought this provision

[1] Caesar had asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter Pompeia, then the wife of Faustus Sylla, and had offered him that of his great-niece Octavia, at that time married to Marcellus. Pompey refused, and married for his fifth wife Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, and daughter of Metellus Scipio.

[2] The judges were sometimes bewildered and distracted by the numerous advocates who took up a case. He settled how many each side could have, only allowed two hours for the accusation, three for the defence, and forbade the eulogies which persons of influence were accustomed to make on behalf of the accused. The accused and the accuser had each the right of challenging five judges (*judices*). A citizen condemned for bribery obtained remission of his penalty by denouncing either two other citizens guilty of a crime less than his own or equal to it, or one guilty of a greater crime. (Dion, xl. 52 and 55; cf. Plut., *Cato*, 48; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 23–24.) "A great number of victims were condemned," says Caesar (*Bell. civ.* iii. 1), "by judges other than those who had heard the case."

iniquitous. Caesar's friends protested; but Pompey would not listen to them. In order to rid himself of Milo and his band, he allowed proceedings to be instituted against the murderer of Clodius. Cicero had long desired this murder; and Cato dared to say in full Senate that Milo had acted as a good citizen, so did these unhappy times confuse the most upright consciences.[1] But the people were too much irritated for justice not to be done. The soldiers with whom Pompey surrounded the tribunal frightened the defender, who pleaded badly:[2] the accused went into exile at Marseilles. When he received the oration, "Pro Milone," wisely recomposed by Cicero in the silence of his study, "If he had spoken as he can write," said the epicurean, "I should not to-day be eating fish at Massilia." The skilful orator had had more courage when, at the time of the close union between the triumvirs, it had been necessary to defend their friends. He had not hesitated to belie his whole life, his convictions, his old grudges, by taking up the cause of a Vatinius and a Gabinius, men of the worst character, or of many others of whom he said in secret, "May I die, if I know how to defend them!" In spite of his efforts to explain this conduct, he felt its unworthiness, and sought to forget himself in literary labors, which were powerless to console him.[3]

Clodius being dead, Milo in exile, and their bands dispersed, calm was restored, so easy was it for a man having the desire to maintain order to keep peace in the city.[4] But Pompey, capable of energetic action, was incapable of long sustaining it, because in public affairs he acted at random, without fixed principle or plan of conduct, trusting, like a true Roman, to the fortune of the

[1] Read Cicero's speech against Piso and so many others, listen to the deadly insults exchanged in the Senate, in the Forum, in the courts of justice, and it will be seen that the political arena bore a singular resemblance to that of the circus. The most inoffensive of these politicians, Cicero, demanded that Clodius should be slain, and later on, before the battle of Pharsalia, he thought that the assassination of Caesar would greatly simplify matters.

[2] At a certain moment Pompey caused the crowd to be charged, and some were wounded and even killed (Dion, xl. 53).

[3] See his long letter to Lentulus (*Ad Fam.* i. 9).

[4] Even the censorship recovered its rights. The consul Metellus Scipio caused to be restored to the censors their former privilege of erasing from the senatorial list all those who appeared to them unworthy of remaining in the Senate. We have just seen (p. 394, note 1) that they used this power very timidly. A law of Clodius had allowed the censors to exclude only those senators who had undergone a condemnation.

moment; that is to say, to circumstances, — to-day with Sylla, to-morrow with Caesar, restorer of the popular rights, then defender of the oligarchy. He did not even consider himself bound by the laws that he had made.[1] He had forbidden the eulogiums pronounced at tribunals by the powerful friends of the accused; but, when Plancus the tribune was accused of causing the fire which destroyed the senate-house, he pronounced a eulogy upon the accused, who was, nevertheless, condemned, so strong was the testimony against him.[3] In the case of his father-in-law Metellus Scipio, who was charged with bribery, Pompey appeared with him in court, clothed in mourning; whereupon Memmius, who had made the charge, desisted, and the judges went as far as to conduct Scipio back to his dwelling. He had obtained the passage of a decree that magistrates should not be appointed to a province until five years after they left office. The measure was an excellent one: he annulled it by requesting that his own proconsular powers should be prolonged for five years, with the right of taking a thousand talents from the treasury yearly.[4] He had established by the law *de jure magistratuum* that none might canvass an office while absent from Rome, and almost immediately he introduced an exception which destroyed it.

COIN OF THE PLAUTIAN FAMILY.[2]

These contradictions prove that Rome had not found in Pompey the firm and resolute man whom she needed; but the nobles

[1] *Suarum legum auctor idem ac subversor* (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28).

[2] Aurora, with outspread wings, driving four horses.

[3] Plutarch (*Pomp.* 55) even says, that, in his father-in-law's case, he had summoned the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and implored from them an acquittal (Dion, xl. 55). The body of judges was never very numerous at Rome, — four hundred and fifty, according to the *lex Servilia;* all the senators, according to the *lex Cornelia*, that is to say from five hundred to six hundred; three hundred and sixty, if we must accept the passage from Plutarch quoted above; but the judices were far more numerous than ours for each trial, according to the nature of the crime, and consequently according to the *quaestio* which was to judge. Cicero speaks of thirty-two after the challenges of both parties (*Pro Cluentio*, 27), of fifty (*Ad Att.* iv. 15), of fifty-six (*Ib.* i. 16), of seventy (*Ib.* iv. 16), of seventy-five (*In Pison.* 40): in the trials of Milo and Saufeius they were fifty-one (Ascon., pp. 53 and 54, Orelli ed.). The reason of this difference was that it seemed desirable to take the judices from the higher ranks of society in order to obtain enlightened men, and to have many of them for each case, that it might be more difficult to bribe a majority of them. Urban quaestors divided them by lot among the different *quaestiones perpetuae.*

[4] Dion, xl. 56; Plut., *Pomp.* 55.

did not trouble themselves about that. Blinded by their hatred, they helped the consul to entangle Caesar in a network of legislative arrangements designed to render powerless the proconsul of the Gauls. The new judiciary law made it possible to incriminate at any moment all his acts; and Milo's trial had just shown what Pompey understood by the liberty of tribunals. The prohibition of being candidate for a magistracy while absent obliged him, if he desired a second term of office as consul, to abandon his provinces, and place himself in the power of his enemies. Should he escape the judges, — that is to say, exile, — and succeed in obtaining from the people the consular fasces, the obligation to wait five years after quitting office before he could again obtain a province would leave him disarmed for those five years in face of Pompey, who was, until 46 B.C., master of the treasury and of large military forces.

The nobles would not at any cost allow him to attain a second consulship. The first had revealed a plan of reforms which would certainly be resumed and developed, and they believed that their new ally had determined upon a combination of measures to avert this danger. But in this well-conducted legislative campaign, the leaders of the Senate had taken everything into account, save the amount of Caesar's resignation to such open envy and such undisguised threats. Against the judiciary law, Caesar had contented himself with the protests of his friends, resolved as he was not to expose himself to the blows of Roman justice so long as the man who had now by his laws declared war against him should continue to hold an official or but half-concealed dictatorship in Rome. As regards the arrangement which placed an interval of five years between the exercise of a great office and the enjoyment of the proconsulship, he doubtless felt that what had been done by one consul could be undone by another. A consulship was necessary to him, therefore, in order to break through the meshes so artfully woven by his late ally and present foe; and this consulship he must be able to canvass, absent as he was in his provinces, for he was lost if he re-appeared in the city for a single day without being protected by the *imperium*.[1] He required that the law

[1] As long as the magistrate was in office, no accusation could be brought against him; now a man who intended canvassing the consulship must present himself at Rome before the con-

touching absence should be modified, and he must have done it in such a manner that Pompey, who was not in a position to break with him, was compelled to consent. A refusal would probably have led to the outbreak of the Civil war three years earlier. Cicero intervened. He repaired to the proconsul's headquarters at Ravenna by the request of Pompey, and on his return to Rome he persuaded his friend Caelius, at that time invested with the tribunitian power, to accept the conditions which he brought back with him.[1] Pompey himself urged the other tribunes to instigate a law establishing the right claimed by Caesar. The plebiscitum was voted, and unanimously, without doubt, since the people, represented by their ten tribunes, accepted it, and the senatorial party, drawn on in spite of themselves by Cicero and Pompey, submitted to it.[2] On the brazen table whereon the consular law against the absent was already graven, Pompey added the exception[3] which had just been made in Caesar's favor. After the solemnity of this last vote, he could no longer hope to find jurisconsults to call to mind that, according to the Twelve Tables, the *privilegium* was void and of no effect. He had threatened, and had gone back from his threat, — a double and dangerous game, which revealed his uncertain character.

Caesar had gained his cause, not by force, but by a law; for, in obtaining privilege of absence, he had obtained all the guaranties required by his ambition and for his safety. The plebiscitum, in fact, tacitly recognized his right to remain at the head of his army

sular comitia, that is to say, more than six months before entering office, and have his name inscribed on the list of candidates. Caesar, then, without the exception he asked for, would have remained six months at Rome as a private individual; and in less than six days the conqueror of the Gauls could have been brought to trial by Cato or some other member of the oligarchy, and very likely condemned to exile.

[1] . . . *Ut illi* (*Caesari*) *hoc liceret adjuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno plebis, ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro* [*Pompeio*] (*Ad Att.* vii. 1, and cf. *Ad Fam.* vi. 6).

[2] *Lex lata est, ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur* (Livy, *Epit.* cvii.; he repeats it in *Epit.* cviii.). The law was presented by the two tribunes (Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3), which leads to the supposition that it was voted unanimously. In his letter to Atticus (viii. 3), Cicero again says, "It was Pompey who desired that the ten tribunes should propose the plebiscitum . . . he too, who confirmed it by a law of his own kind." Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 26, 28) and Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 25) speak in the same way. Pompey, the Senate, and the people had agreed, then, to let Caesar canvass the consulship in his absence. By the treaty of Misenum, in 39, the same permission was granted to Sextus Pompeius.

[3] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 28; Dion, xl. 56; Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3.

till he could legally canvass for the consulship, that is to say, till the middle of 49 B.C.[1] Cicero, upon becoming his enemy, was forced to proclaim this. "By giving him the privilege of absence, they have given him the right to keep his army till the consular comitia."[2]

All this was very unrepublican; but was Rome at this time a republic? Who could say where the right really lay? Money and intimidation having long decided the votes, any law could be abrogated, any election annulled for informality, corruption, or violence, to whatever faction might belong the chosen candidate or the author of the law. Since Rome had ceased to have free comitia, — and we may say that, since the murder of the Gracchi, she had had none, — the Republic had ceased to live.

V.—Efforts of the Oligarchy to deprive Caesar of his Powers.

Pompey's second consulship in 55 had been barren of results: the dictatorship which had been granted him in 52, for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of the Senate, and destroying that of Caesar, had not restored the one, and it had consolidated the other. The oligarchy had ill chosen the leader in whom they hoped to find a new Sylla. Cato was more resolute; but even his friends mistrusted this man of narrow and violent mind, whose death is his only claim to live in the memory of posterity. Notwithstanding his name, and his zeal for the faction of the nobles, the latter never allowed him to rise higher than the praetorship. In this year 52 he had solicited the consulship, and to him had been preferred one Marcellus, who was to use his office for the advantage of Pompey and his party. The new consul was one of those nobles who found it exasperating to have heard no name but Caesar's resound in Rome for the last eight years. They had long been reduced to secretly deploring his victories: now, feeling secure in the support of the

[1] According to one of Sylla's laws, an interval of ten years must elapse between two consulships. Pompey had just broken this law; but Caesar observed it, first because he needed the time to complete his work in Gaul, and, secondly, because he would not give his adversaries a pretext for erasing his name from the list of candidates.

[2] *Ad Att.* vii. 7.

conqueror of Asia, they ceased to restrain themselves when they ceased to fear. Marcellus began the attack: he directly challenged the proconsul of the Gauls in order to induce him to commit some imprudence which should justify an extreme measure. Caesar had established at Novum Comum, in Transalpine Gaul, five thousand colonists possessing the *jus Latii*. This right, which gave the magistrates of Latin towns the *jus civitatis* at the expiration of their office, exempted them from corporal punishments. Marcellus, to show in what esteem he held the proconsul's acts, had an aedile or *duumvir* of Novum Comum beaten with rods; and as the man invoked the rights which had been conferred upon him, "Blows are the mark of the foreigner," said the consul. "Go show thy shoulders to Caesar: it is thus I treat the citizens he makes."[1] A few days later he resolutely proposed in the Senate the recall of the proconsul.

But Pompey still hesitated, and employed the time in visiting his villas. While his rival was finishing his long war in this campaign, and getting free disposal of all his forces, he retired to Tarentum to nurse his health, and philosophize with Cicero, who "found him animated with the best and most patriotic intentions." He thought of going still farther away, into Spain. Was this a ruse to deceive the credulous ex-consul, and cause his disinterestedness to be as highly celebrated as his military fame? Probably so; but in this double game he lost the advantage which a firm decision and bold offensive would have given him.[2] By remaining inactive and silent, he allowed the Senate to come forward and seize the leading part; so that, at the time of the explosion, the question lay, not between him and Caesar, but between Caesar and the aristocracy, and Pompey was only their general. It could not be otherwise. Pompey, representing no principle, was not Caesar's real

[1] Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 26) and Plutarch (*Caesar*, 29) say that he was a magistrate; Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 28), that Comum even had the *jus civitatis;* Cicero (*Ad Att.* v. 11) denies it: *Marcellus foede in Comensi: etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus.* The authority of Cicero overrides that of Appian, and still more that of Plutarch. But he may have been ill informed of the antecedents of this individual, who was only secured against the rods if he had held a magistracy. (See vol. ii. p. 508, note 3.) The *jus Latii* had been given to the Transpadani by a Pompeian law in 89 B.C., at the same time as the *jus civitatis* was granted to peninsular Italy.

[2] [This was evidently the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else. — *Ed.*]

adversary, and since the Senate alone had retained any authority in the State, it was they who were to fight the last battle for the Republic.

The elections for the year 50 were no longer in favor of Pompey: the consuls chosen — Aem. Paullus, and one C. Claudius Marcellus — were zealous partisans of the Senate. In the other offices candidates of the same opinions triumphed. The appointment of the younger Curio to the tribuneship appeared to be another victory for Caesar's foes. "He was of noble birth, eloquent, intrepid, prodigal alike of his own fortune and reputation and those of others, — a man ably wicked, and eloquent to the injury of the Republic, and whose passions and desires no degree of wealth or gratification could satisfy."[1] Overwhelmed with debts, "he had nothing," says Pliny, "to allege as his income but the hopes which he founded upon the discord among the leaders."[2] Caesar, who knew how to make use of ruined men, secretly bought over the future tribune *ingenti mercede;* Appian says for more than fifteen hundred talents, which is a very large sum. A magistrate is not bought publicly like a piece of property. Cicero, who was very curious about these sales, knows nothing about this one, and Velleius doubts it: the only real uncertainty is in respect to the amount paid.

The aristocracy, being masters of all the points of vantage in the city, were anxious to hasten on the struggle. For a time they thought that the Bellovaci had rid them of Caesar. In May, 51 B.C., it was whispered that he had lost his cavalry, that the seventh legion had been defeated, and he himself cut off from his troops and surrounded.[3] When the truth was known, it only made them more anxious to persuade Pompey to declare himself openly.

At a session of the Senate (12th of July, 51 B.C.), Pompey was asked about a legion which he had lent to Caesar.[4] "It is in Gaul," he replied, and promised to recall it. But, when they reached the principal object of the deliberation, the regulation of the provinces, he left Rome in order to avoid declaring either for

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 48.

[2] *Ut qui nihil in censu habuerit praeter discordiam principum* (Pliny., *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, 120).

[3] Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 1).

[4] Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 4).

Caesar's recall, or for keeping him in his proconsulship. But, to encourage his new friends to proceed without him, he had let fall these words in the midst of the debate: "Every man owes obedience to the Senate." M. Marcellus did in fact resume the matter, notwithstanding Pompey's absence; but either because the wise counsel of Sulpicius, the other consul, who saw the storm gathering,[1] had moderated the blind ardor of the nobles, or because Caesar had claimed from the senators whom he had bribed some return for his largesses, each time the deliberation began, the Senate found there was no house, and on the 30th of September the question was adjourned till the 1st of March in the following year.

When the nobles granted the proconsul this imprudent truce, which allowed him to complete his work in Gaul, and prepare for the Civil war, they, however, had troops in Italy. The army raised by Pompey to re-establish order in the city had not been disbanded. Being stationed at Ariminum, on the frontier of Caesar's government, it could in a few marches close the passes of the Alps against him. But great assemblies do not know the value of time: like the people of Athens, who were listening to their orators when Philip was on his way through Thermopylae, the Senate was still engaged in deliberation when Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

M. Marcellus, however, who saw his consular year expiring without fulfilling the wishes of the oligarchy, wished to impose this task upon his successors. The resolution of the 30th of September was in these terms: "The consuls for the next year shall bring forward in the Senate the question of superseding Caesar at the session of the 1st of March [50]; till this question be settled, the Senate shall meet every day; six of the senators who are judges in the courts of justice shall be required to leave them in order to repair to the curia; none shall be allowed to oppose it; those who attempt to do so shall be declared public enemies; the Senate shall take into consideration the services of the soldiers in the army of Gaul, and

[1] *Tanquam ex aliqua specula prospexi tempestatem futuram . . . monente et denuntiante te* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* iv. 3). Sulpicius, says Dion (xl. 59), saw that the people were not willing to depose before the lawful time a magistrate who had done no wrong. In Dion's opinion Caesar's powers ended in 50 B.C. But Hirtius (*De Bell. Gall.* viii. 53) says that Marcellus had put the question to the vote, *contra legem Pompei et Crassi et ante tempus.* Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 21) speaks to the same effect: *ut ei ante tempus succederetur.*

restore to civil life the veterans who have a right to retirement and those who have valid reasons for obtaining it."[1] The threat was clear, — to deprive Caesar of his command and disorganize his army, to render the veto of the tribunes worthless beforehand, and to place those who attempted to avail themselves of it in danger of capital punishment. Three tribunes resisted this proposal, and the colleague of Marcellus opposed it; but the senatorial majority adopted it. This revolutionary decision, into which all kinds of illegalities were crowded, was nothing less than a declaration of war. The Senate had had the courage to make it, because they relied upon Pompey, who had gone further that day than he had ever before done. "Whether Caesar refuses to obey the decree," he had said, "or causes one of his partisans to offer obstructions to it, it is all the same thing." — "But if he asserts that he is consul, and retains his army?" they asked. "But if my son raises a stick against me?" he replied. Pompey was coming back to Sylla's system, — everything by and for the Senate. Though he did not demand the suppression of the tribunitian veto, which he had re-established, he at least treated it as old-fashioned rubbish which no one was bound longer to respect: the problem becomes clearly defined, as is fitting on the eve of great solutions.

Caesar made no reply to these challenges. He saw clearly and had long seen that the attempt would be made to compel him to lay aside the *paludamentum* before assuming the consular toga, in order that his acts might be cancelled, and that the Senate might rid themselves by exile of the popular leader and his threatening reforms.[2] But the difficulty was to make him commit this imprudence. The defections incited in his army by offering leave to his soldiers did not occur. His ten legions, whose pay he had doubled,[3] and whom he maintained in a great measure at his own expense,

[1] Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8.

[2] Dion, xl. 60; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 30: *Cumque vulgo fore praedicarent, ut si privatus redisset Milonis exemplo, circumpostis armatis, causam apud judices diceret.*

[3] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 26. In the time of Polybius (vi. 39) the pay for a foot-soldier was $5\frac{1}{3}$ ases a day, or 1,920 ases a year; i.e., 120 denarii: Caesar raised it to 225 denarii, at which amount it remained until Domitian. It should be remarked that in the year 50, 225 denarii would not be, as a means of exchange, worth more than 120 a century earlier. The increase decided upon by Caesar, which was formerly regarded as a means of bribing his army, was therefore a measure rendered necessary by the increased price of everything, produced by enormous influx of precious metals into Rome.

were devoted to him as never army had been before to its leader. A centurion at the doors of the Senate, hearing that it was probable Caesar would be refused the longer term of government which he sought for, had been heard to say, placing his hand on the hilt

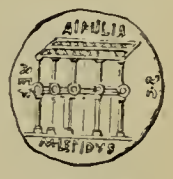
ARICIA (LA RICCIA).[1]

of his sword, "But this shall give it." [2] Therefore the proconsul suffered his foes to deliberate, to decree and threaten in words: he even passed that winter in the heart of Gaul, at Nemetocenna (Arras), and those who had charge of his interests at Rome seemed to be only occupied in building for him a delightful villa near the grove of Diana at Aricia. So general was the misconception in regard

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

[2] Plut., *Pomp.* 62. The same saying is attributed to one of the centurions of Octavius. Both are probably unauthentic.

to his resources, that Atticus thought to embarrass him by claiming an old debt of fifty-eight talents. But at this very moment Caesar was just completing the payment of Curio's enormous debts, and purchasing the defection of the consul Paullus at the price of fifteen hundred talents,[1] which he sent him in the form of a loan to complete his basilica. Lastly, by a clever move, he reduced Cicero to silence. The latter was then just returning with the title of "Imperator" from his government of Cilicia, where he had done himself honor far more by his irreproachable conduct than by the doubtful successes which it had been easy for him to gain over the poor mountaineers. None the less he solicited the triumph. On Cato's motion the Senate refused. At the moment when the orator's former friends were inflicting this cruel wound on his vanity, he received from the governor of Gaul a letter full of admiration, and a promise that, if Caesar should be consul, he would secure to Cicero what the latter desired. This hope reduced the orator to neutrality, which was all that Caesar required of him.



AEMILIAN BASILICA.[2]

On the 1st of March, 50 B.C., the deliberation commenced. The proconsul's powers, which had been extended for five years by the *lex Licinia-Pompeia*, did not end till 49; but the nobles were unwilling to wait so long, and the consul C. Marcellus put to the vote his recall on the 13th of November in the present year, which would have given his accusers seven months, — far more than was necessary to obtain a condemnation. The majority were about to adopt this motion, notwithstanding the silence of the other consul, when Curio, rising, praised the wisdom of Marcellus, but added that justice and the public interest required that the same measure should be applied to Pompey. "We must make an end," said he, "of exceptional powers, and return to the constitution, which does not allow them." If his amendment were

[1] Cic., *Ad Att.* vi. 1; Val. Max. ix. 1; Plut. *Pomp.* 62. This sum again is a very large one, and I think must be reduced. Caesar's exchequer was supplied by the tax upon the Gauls, which was a light one; by booty, which was not equal in value to that which he would have gained in the rich provinces of Asia; and above all by the sale of captives, which was very productive, but yet not sufficiently so to enable Caesar to spend in the same year, and for only two men, something like three million dollars of our currency.

[2] Coin of the *gens Aemilia*.

refused, he should oppose his veto. The method was well chosen: in the midst of factions, Curio alone seemed jealous for the Republic. "When he left the Senate, the people received him with great tokens of joy, clapping their hands, and crowning him with garlands and flowers;"[1] and the nobles dared not brave his opposition.

Meanwhile, Caesar had at last completed his work in Gaul. In the summer of the year 50 he crossed the Alps on the pretext of commending to the municipia and colonies on the banks of the Po the candidature of his quaestor Antony[2] for the office of augur, but really in order to approach nearer to Rome, and obtain from the people of Cisalpine Gaul a manifestation of favor which should re-echo even in the Senate. Everywhere, indeed, the inhabitants went out to meet him, and sacrifices and feasts celebrated his arrival in each city. During this triumphal march into Italy, his legions were assembling in the territory of the Treviri: he returned into Gaul to review them. No doubt at this ceremony tacit promises were exchanged between the leader and his soldiers. They knew of the designs formed against their general, and, even had there been a lack of affection for him, their interest would have warned them that they must share his misfortunes or his prosperity. If Caesar were deprived of his command and condemned, who would pay them for their services? Would it be the man, who, but for Caesar, could not have obtained the gift of a foot of land for his army of Asia?

About this time Pompey fell ill at Naples.[3] When he recovered, the inhabitants returned solemn thanksgivings to the gods. From Naples, the enthusiasm spread to the neighboring cities. Puteoli was garlanded with flowers, and throughout Campania feasts were held in honor of his recovery. "Campania," says Juvenal, "had given him a wholesome fever." "Had he died then," adds Cicero, "he would have died in full glory and prosperity." Pompey let

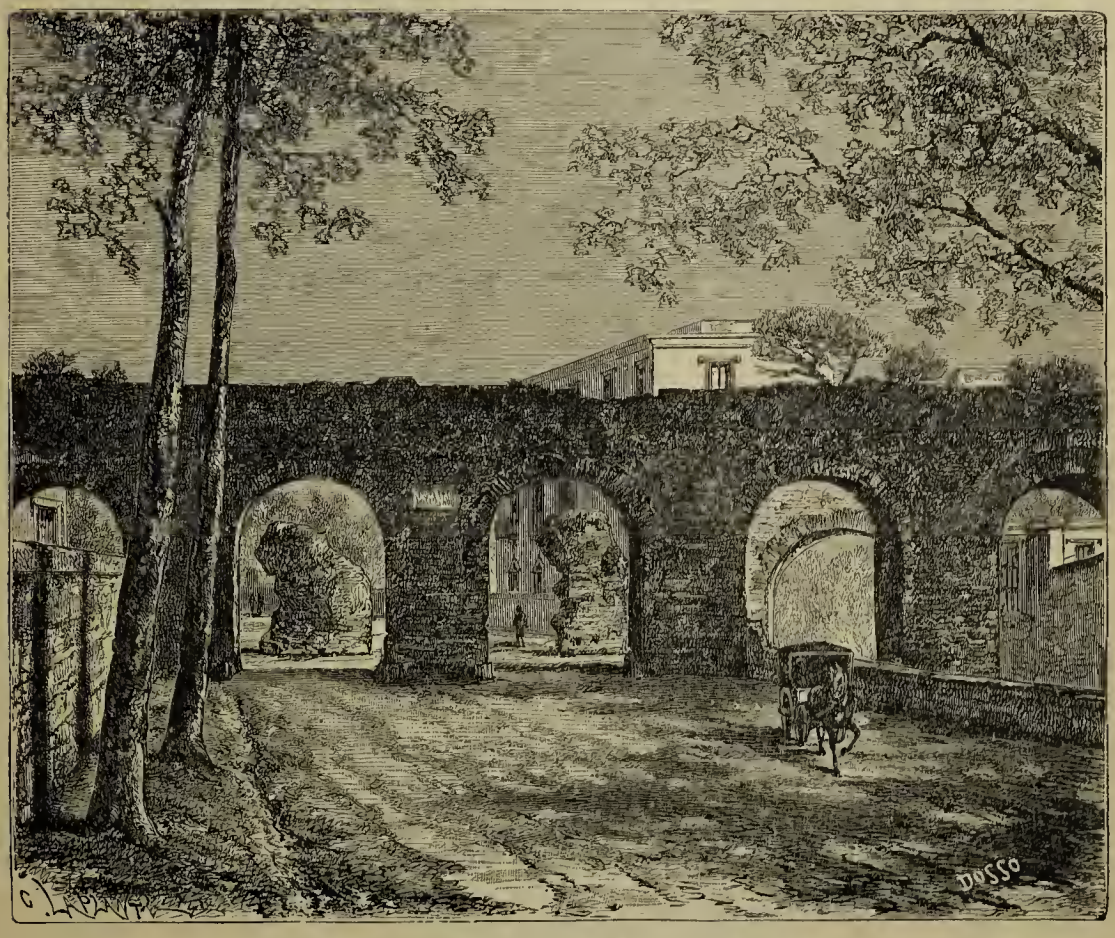
[1] Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 11 and 13. Καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος (App., *Bell cir.* ii. 27). *Justissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pompeio vellet dimitti exercitus* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 48).

[2] The death of Hortensius had just left a vacant place in the college, and Antony was appointed before Caesar's arrival in Cisalpine Gaul.

[3] This, it appears, often happened to him; for Cicero writes to Atticus (viii. 2): *In unius hominis quotannis periculose aegrotantis anima positas omnis nostras spes habemus* (Juv., *Sat.* x. 283–286, and Cic., *Tusc.* i. 35).

himself be dazzled by these commonplace acclamations, which have so often deceived men in high position, and his confidence increased.

In order to revive the debate about Caesar, and play the part of the disinterested citizen, he offered one day in the Senate to lay down his powers, well assured that the offer would not be accepted. When Curio urged him to carry out this promise, he found pre-



ROMAN RUIN AT NAPLES (THE PONTE ROSSI).[1]

texts for delaying. "Let Caesar begin," he said: "I will follow his example." The result of this session, to which he had come with such noble words of self-sacrifice, was the despatching of an order to his rival to place two of his legions at the disposal of the Senate. The decree said, it is true, that the two proconsuls should furnish one legion apiece for Syria, where an invasion of the Parthians was threatening; but Pompey had lent one to Caesar, and he now demanded it back again; the proconsul of Gaul there-

[1] From a photograph by Parker, No. 2141, which shows the brick construction, *opus latericium*.

fore gave them both. Before their departure, he distributed two hundred and fifty drachmae to each soldier; they would be so many friends to him in the opposite camp. Of course they were not sent to Asia. The consul Metellus stationed them at Capua, though he suspected their fidelity.

This prompt obedience caused great astonishment. The party of Pompey thought that an explanation was to be found in what Appius Claudius, who had brought the two legions from Cisalpine Gaul, told of the temper of the whole army.[1] "Caesar's soldiers," said he, "are discontented and weary: they only long for rest and peace," — as if a soldier serving under a successful leader ever had enough of war. Appius was believed, and one more illusion lulled Pompey to sleep.

The struggle, however, was becoming imminent. A clear-sighted observer who was at Rome at the time wrote to Cicero: "The nearer we approach the inevitable struggle, the more we are struck with the greatness of the danger. This is the ground on which the two men of power of the day are going to encounter each other. Pompey is decided not to suffer Caesar to be consul until he has resigned his legions and his provinces; and Caesar is convinced that there is no safety for him but in retaining his army."[2] In Italy, however, there were no preparations, no measures of defence; and, when Pompey was asked what force would stop the enemy if the Caesarians crossed the mountains, he replied, with memories of his youth before him, "In whatsoever spot in Italy I stamp upon the ground, legions will rise." The consuls shared his security; and Marcellus, who was the most strongly opposed to Caesar, was quite resolved to have it out. On which side was, I will not say the right, but strict conformity to law?

Caesar had in his favor the following laws: —

1. The Vatinian plebiscitum and the senatus-consultum of the year 59, which had given him the governorship of the two Gauls for five years.

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 30. This Appius was the nephew of a censor then in office, and who, amidst such affairs, amused himself by proscribing pictures and statues, as another magistrate turned informer in the name of the *lex Scantinia de pudicitia*. Accordingly the witty and malicious Caelius writes to Cicero: *Curre, per deos atque homines! et quam primum haec risum veni* (*Ad Fam.* viii. 14).

[2] Caelius, *Ad Fam.* viii. 14.

2. The consular law, *Licinia-Pompeia*, which in 55 had renewed his proconsulship for another five years.

3. The plebiscitum of the ten tribunes in the year 52, which authorized him to canvass a second consulship in his absence.[1]

The first two of these laws secured him ten years of proconsulship, 58–49; the third, in which it is easy to see an indirect confirmation of the two former, conferred upon him the right to retain his provinces and his army till the time when he could legally solicit a second consulship. As he was very careful not to give his foes any legal ground against him, he had never proposed to canvass the consular fasces before the middle of the year 49, because a Cornelian law which Pompey had overridden, but which all other persons observed, required that there should be an interval of ten years between two terms of consular office of the same individual.

The Senate had not raised the question of the duration of Caesar's authority, so long as union had existed among the triumvirs: in 56 the majority still admitted that the proconsulship of the Gauls did not end until 54.[2]

But when the leaders of the oligarchy had secured Pompey by investing him with a kind of dictatorship, they asserted that the *lex Vatinia*, passed in 59, marked the starting-point of Caesar's government: consequently, according to the principle of law that a year begun is considered as ended, — *annus caeptus pro pleno habetur*,[3] — the decennial proconsulship ended in 50, — a theory impossible to defend, since, if this law had made Caesar at once proconsul, he would have held the military *imperium* at Rome during his consulship (in the year 59), which was contrary to the laws, — a theory, however, maintained with variations of date, and in Cicero with contradictory affirmations, proving that hatred against Caesar dictated the opinion of his adversaries. Thus Pompey at one time fixes the limit of Caesar's powers at the 1st of March, 50, and at another at the 13th of November of the same year.[4]

At Rome the nobles, since their reconciliation with Pompey,

[1] *Vide* pp. 398 and 399.

[2] *Vide* p. 371.

[3] Dig., L. 48.

[4] Cf. Cic., *De Prov. cons.* 15; *Ad Att.* vii. 9; *Ad Fam.* viii. 8, 9, and 11; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 26 and 28; Dion, xl. 59.

held that the powers of the proconsul expired in 50. He, on the contrary, maintained that the proconsular year dated from the day when the proconsul entered his provinces; and common sense, as well as the letter of the law, sanctions this opinion. But he did not cross the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul until the end of March, 58; he ought not, therefore, to leave it till the end of 49; and of this there was no doubt in his army or throughout Gaul, where, towards the close of the military operations of 51, it was currently said that only one more summer remained for him to pass beyond the Alps,[1] that of 50. The arrangements to be made for his candidature detained him, indeed, in Cisalpine Gaul, that is to say, the neighborhood of Rome, during the first half of 49, and he did not claim to retain his command beyond that date. Accordingly, when the senatus-consultum of the 7th of January, 49, declared him a public enemy unless he immediately quitted his provinces, he replied that this would be illegally depriving him of six months' *imperium*.

Moreover, all the subtle and skilful calculations made on this score fall before the perfectly plain law which allowed Caesar, although absent, to canvass the consulship.[2] Cicero acknowledges that, in granting him this privilege, they had by that very fact authorized him to retain his army until the consular comitia of July, 49: *quum id datum, illud una datum*. The whole question lies in these six words, or, rather, these six words decide it. Accordingly, when the consul Marcellus opened the discussion in the Senate upon the redistribution of the provinces, he abandoned the theory that Caesar's powers had expired, and by what was, perhaps, a clever manœuvre, but certainly not a very honorable one, he demanded that Caesar should be obliged to come to Rome to solicit the consulship. But from the law of 52 he left out the essential part, — Caesar's right to canvass *while absent*.[3]

[1] Hirtius, *De Bell. Gall.* viii. 39.

[2] *Ad Att.* vii. 7; and p. 415, note 3.

[3] Marcellus certainly knew the text of the law of 52; but it may be that many did not know it. The public archives at Rome were not well organized. The laws and senatus-consulta were preserved in the *aerarium*, and confided to the keeping of the scribes, the quaestors, and the ædiles. It was necessary to apply to them to obtain a knowledge of the text of the laws, and to the *librarii* to obtain a copy. Accordingly Cicero said (*De Leg.* iii. 20), *Legum custodiam nullam habemus, itaque eae leges sunt quas apparitores nostri volunt. A librariis petimus, publicis litteris consignatam memoriam nullam habemus.* In the Verrine

What gave the consul courage to do this was the fact that at Rome Caesar's position was looked upon as very critical. It was known that he had only five thousand men in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the eight other legions were in the depths of Gaul, where it was hoped that, at the first order to retire, a general insurrection might break out, which would make it necessary to leave them at their posts. If Caesar, abandoning the conquest which had

ROMAN RUINS AT CAPUA.[1]

made his fame, called all his troops round him, the seven Pompeian legions in Spain would enter Gaul, and follow the Caesarians into Italy, where Pompey, with his fresh levies and the two legions from Capua, would place Caesar between two dangers, from which he could not escape. Moreover, emissaries were at work in his

Orations (iii. 79) he says again, *Quid mirabimur turpis aliquos ibi esse, quo cuivis pretio licet pervenire?* Dion Cassius bears witness to the same "errors and confusions" (liv. 36). These *librarii*, or notaries, were freedmen: they purchased their office, and might well sell their services, that is to say, incorrect copies.

[1] Engraving taken from the *Aeneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

army; promises of defection had been obtained; and Pompey's military reputation dispelled all fear: their confidence was unlimited.

In the session of March 1, 50, to the question of Marcellus, "Shall Caesar be superseded in his province?" an immense majority had replied in the affirmative: to his question, "Shall Pompey be superseded?" the same majority pronounced in the negative. But Curio, in the name of public interest, had changed these questions into the following: "Shall Pompey and Caesar both resign?" and three hundred and seventy voices against twenty-two supported the proposal, — a proof that, though the senatorial majority preferred Pompey to Caesar, they preferred the Republic to Pompey. Outside, the most vehement applause had greeted the courageous tribune. Curio had found the true solution in this memorable conflict, — a solution which would preserve peace, and did not compromise the future. Caesar returning to Rome without his army, but with all his great reputation, would have preserved over Pompey, disarmed like himself, the ascendency of genius, and would have had in the State an influence by means of which he would have been able to lead the government gently into the right path. But the nobles desired Caesar's ruin, and they knew that, if the two rivals abdicated, the disarmed Caesar would still remain formidable to them. They could not, therefore, accept any measure which dealt alike with both proconsuls, and Pompey would have none of it.[1] Marcellus broke up the meeting, crying, "You carry the day! You will have Caesar for master."

A few days later a report spread that the army of Gaul was crossing the Alps. Marcellus proposed to call up the two legions from Capua. Curio maintained, as was perfectly true, that no movement of the troops had taken place. Then Marcellus said, "Since I can do nothing here with the consent of all, I alone take charge of the public welfare on my own responsibility;" and passing through the city, accompanied by Lentulus, the consul-elect,

[1] Pompey was even unwilling that Caesar should be permitted to become consul after having quitted his army: a long conversation with him persuaded Cicero that he desired war, that he might not be obliged to confine himself to his government of Spain (*Ad Att.* vii. 8). "Nothing was omitted by Caesar that could be tried for the promotion of peace," says also Velleius Paterculus (ii. 49): "To nothing would the party of Pompey listen."

and some senators of the party,[1] he repaired to Pompey, handed him his sword, and ordered him, for the defence of the Republic, to assume the command of all the troops stationed in Italy and to raise others. Pompey accepted, but, true to the last to his hypocritical moderation, he added, "If no better expedient can be found."

The expedient, indeed, was a detestable one, for the consul substituted himself for both Senate and people: of his own authority he invested Pompey with the dictatorship, trampling alike upon senatus-consulta and plebiscita. It was impossible to violate the constitution more openly, and thus it was a senatorial minority who began the appeal to arms and the revolution. Curio treated this unheard-of[2] proceeding as it deserved, and opposed the raising of troops. But his office was drawing to a close, and the nobles, having now entered upon the paths of violence, could no longer be stopped by a tribune. Two other partisans of the proconsul, however, — Cassius Longinus and his former quaestor, M. Antonius, — were about to take their seat on the tribune's bench. Caesar was too well aware of the power of this office not to take care always to have some of his own party elected to it.

He was then at Ravenna with the thirteenth legion, five thousand foot and three hundred horse. Curio urged him to attack. In order still to act under cover of the legal appearances which his foe had just cast aside, he sent word to the Senate that he consented to retain, until his election to the consulship, only Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, with one legion. If this proposal were rejected, he further offered to lay down his command, provided Pompey would yield up his, adding that, in case these conditions were not accepted, he should be obliged to come to Rome in person to avenge his wrongs and those of the country.[3] Curio was the bearer of this letter, and on the 1st of January, 49, he delivered

[1] Dion, xl. 66.

[2] This is the expression of which Dion makes use (xl. 66), though he is not favorable to Caesar: he adds that Pompey, eager to have soldiers, did not trouble himself either from whose hands he received them or by what means they reached him.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 32. Plutarch (*Pomp.* 59) says that Cicero proposed to leave Caesar Illyria, with two legions, that he might await his second consulship, a further proof that the orator fully recognized Caesar's right to canvass the consulship while absent. On Pompey's refusal, Caesar's friends consented also to the disbanding of one of the two legions; but Lentulus and Cato caused all proposals to be rejected.

it in full Senate to the new consuls, Corn. Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus. This Marcellus was a brother of the consul of 51, and cousin to the one who had had the fasces in 50, — three consulships in three years in the same house. By these exclusive selections the oligarchy in the last hours of its existence itself increased the evil of which it was dying. The consuls refused to make Caesar's letter known. Cassius and Antony insisted upon its being read, but were not, however, able to have it calmly discussed. In the midst of a confused debate, Lentulus was so far carried away as to declare that, if the Senate persisted in its servility, he and his friends were resolved to act; and the majority, swayed by fear,[1] adopted a motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and agent, to the effect that if, on the day prescribed, Caesar did not disband his army, he should be declared an enemy of the Republic. They forgot that another Senate had declared Cinna, Marius, Sylla, and Lepidus public enemies, and that, of the four thus proscribed, three had re-entered Rome in triumph. But "they desired war," says Cicero, and they had need of it to satisfy at once their hatred and their covetousness.[2]

The veto of the tribunes at first hindered Scipio's motion from being drawn up in the form of a decree; and the crowd in the Forum, to whom they declared that Caesar only desired to return as a private individual, and give an account of his administration to the sovereign assembly, were indignant that a hearing should be refused to him who appealed to the justice of the people.

In order to silence these clamors and this opposition, Pompey, who was encamped with his troops at the gates of Rome, sent a few cohorts into the city, and at the meeting of the 6th of January, the Senate passed the decree charging the consuls to watch over the safety of the Republic, — *Caveant consules:* this was the declaration of war. As the tribunes persisted in their veto, the consul Lentulus ordered them to leave the curia if they wished to avoid

[1] *Inviti et coacti*, says Caesar (*De Bell. civ.* i. 2).

[2] *Vidi . . . nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem* [*Caesarem*] *non tam cupere quam non timere* (*Ad Fam.* ix. 6). On another occasion he writes to M. Marius (*Ad Fam.* vii. 3): . . . *In bello rapaces, in oratione ita crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem aes alienum amplissimorum virorum.*

"the punishment their spirit of hostility towards the Republic merited." At these words Antony rose, and called the gods to witness the violence done to the popular magistrates. "We are insulted!" he cried: "we are treated like murderers! You want proscriptions, massacres, and conflagrations: may the evils which you invoke fall upon your own heads!" [1] Meantime the Pompeian soldiers approached: they were about to surround the curia. Antony and Cassius escaped, followed by Caelius and Curio; the following night all four, disguised as slaves, fled to Caesar's camp. In the eyes of many he already had law on his side; the presence of these men with him seemed to give him popular right; and the oligarchy thus placed him in a position of legitimate defence (Nov. 19, 50–Jan. 7, 49).

Whilst the tribunes were proceeding in all haste towards Ariminum, the Senate passed a decree of proscription, and distributed the provinces in contempt of constitutional rules. They bestowed commands upon senators who had no right to them, and ordinary private individuals were seen preceded by lictors in Rome. Neither Scipio nor Domitius could as yet be proconsuls; but the former was given Syria, the latter Transalpine Gaul. Others were sent to Sicily, to Sardinia, to Africa, and to Cilicia; Considius received the difficult office of taking possession of Cisalpine Gaul; to Cicero was confided the more modest duty of watching over the coasts of Campania, which no one threatened. They all departed without legal title, for the comitia curiata were not called together to confer the *imperium* upon them; nor did they fulfil any of the religious and military formalities imposed upon magistrates on their entry into office. The party assuming to fight on the side of the laws began by violating all of them.

If the picture that has just been drawn of the internal state of Rome is a true one, Caesar's ambition was legitimate, and his victory as desirable as it was certain; for he had the strength to conquer as he had the genius to make use of victory, and give the world that repose for which it longed. Humanity advances, accord-

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 33. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust to Caesar speak (i. 4) of the murder — ordered by Cato, Domitius, and their party — of forty senators and a great number of youths. No trace of this deed is found elsewhere. Cicero and Caesar would certainly have mentioned it.

ing to the times, by the power of one as well as by the liberty of all. But it was not a question of sacrificing liberty. Where was liberty in the bloody saturnalia which had so long made the life of the Roman people the most tragic of dramas? Where was it for the great body of Latin nations, which, instead of moving onwards towards the future with a calm and assured step, was swaying in violent convulsions? It is a strange thing that in our age of democracy, and revolutions wrought in streets and palaces, men side with the faction of the nobles against the popular leader, with Sylla's heirs against the successor of the Gracchi, with the revolution brought about at Rome in the interest of a few against that which, on the passage of the Rubicon, took place for the benefit of the great majority.[1] Men allow themselves to be misled by the false inscription of the Roman Republic placed upon monuments, which was still to be read upon the standards of the soldiers of Probus. No doubt the man who had just rendered Rome the immense service of bringing to her feet the dreaded Gallic race, and putting off for three centuries to come the Germanic invasion, — no doubt this man was about to violate the law which forbade proconsuls to issue from their provinces in arms. But were there no laws violated against him? and, indeed, after the declaration of war by the consuls, were there any laws left? It is asking too much of human nature to suppose that it was possible for the victorious general, unquestionably proscribed at Rome should he re-enter the city without the protection of a public office, to commit himself to the discretion of intriguing nobles or of any sleeping Epimenides.[2] It does not appear that those who assumed to save liberty intended to save aught but the oligarchical interests.

The question of legality may be summed up in two words: the nobles commenced the war in order to carry out their illegal

[1] This prejudice dates from early times. The parliamentarians and men of letters of the seventeenth century retained it when absolute monarchy was at its height. Guy Patin said to a First President that, if he had been in the Senate when Caesar was slain, he would have dealt him the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a *literary* opinion, which all the Ciceronians shared, after the example of their master, and which many among them still keep.

[2] Cato loudly declared that he would take the execution upon himself, and Caesar was promised the fate of Milo (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 30).

senatus-consultum of the 10th of January, 49,[1] and Caesar accepted it to defend the sovereign plebiscitum of 52.

[1] Illegal, in the sense that it violated a formal law, — the plebiscitum of 52. Without the laws of 55 and 52, the Senate would have had the right of shortening the duration of Caesar's powers ; but since the passing of these laws they no longer possessed it.

[2] From an engraved stone (an amethyst .59055 inch by .43307 inch) from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1441 of the Catalogue.

MARS BEARING A TROPHY.[2]

CHAPTER LVI.

THE CIVIL WAR AND CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP.

I. —Progress of the Monarchical Idea.

THE poet Lucan, in a famous passage, represents Caesar on the banks of the Rubicon,[1] implored by his sorrowing country to desist from his crime. Crime ?[2] no, but a necessary revolution, hid from Lucan's eyes by the epic illusions wherewith he consoled himself at Nero's court. It was in truth the favor of the people which made Caesar master of Rome, not his army or his genius. The first and irresistible cause was the need that the Empire had of a firm and regular government.

Everything tended towards a monarchy, which the loss of equality, the disorganization of the government, and the desires of the steady classes, rendered inevitable. What had been the tribuneship of Caius Gracchus, the consulships of Marius and Cinna,

[1] The Rubicon is probably the Fiumicino di Savignano, a reddish torrent twelve miles north of Ariminum, formed by the confluence of three brooks from the Apennines. In respect to the crossing of this little stream Plutarch says, "When Caesar came to the river Rubicon, which parts Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his thoughts began to work: now he was just entering upon the danger, and he wavered much in his mind when he considered the greatness of the enterprise into which he was throwing himself. He checked his course, and ordered a halt, while he revolved with himself, and often changed his opinion one way and the other without speaking a word. Presently he also discussed the matter with his friends who were about him, computing how many calamities his passing that river would bring upon mankind, and what a relation of it would be transmitted to posterity. At last, in a sort of passion, casting aside calculation and abandoning himself to what might come, and using the proverb frequently in their mouths who enter upon dangerous and bold attempts, 'The die is cast!'—with these words he took the river. Once over, he used all expedition possible, and before it was day, reached Ariminum and took it." This legend of the Rubicon is dear to poets and rhetoricians; but it is difficult to accept it. Caesar was scarcely the man to hesitate thus after he had entered upon an enterprise: moreover, the crime, if crime it were, was already committed, since his soldiers had preceded him on the road to Ariminum.

[2] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 183.

Sylla's dictatorship, Pompey's commands, but so many temporary royalties?[1] During the past century this idea had been gaining ground, and taken possession, unknown to themselves, of many minds even among the noblest. This peace for which Lucretius asks;[2] the new wisdom which counsels men to flee public life and its dangerous seductions, as well as the temples and their vain terrors; this repose which Atticus seeks, remote from business, and on friendly terms with all the rivals;[3] even Cicero's uncertainties — are they not indications of the disgust inspired by that unbearable anarchy known as the Roman Republic?

When the aruspices, being consulted in 56 about some prodigies at which the people were frightened, replied that the Republic was threatened with falling into the power of a single man, the notion had been revealed to them, not by the entrails of victims or the flight of birds, but by public opinion, of which they were a perhaps unconscious echo.[4] Did not Cicero himself write: "What do you mean by men of the good party? I know none. Is it the Senate, who leave the provinces without any administration, and who dared not hold their own against Curio? Is it the knights, whose patriotism has always been wavering, and who are now Caesar's best friends? Is it the tradesmen and country-people, who only ask to live in quiet, no matter under what régime, were it even under a king? . . . Caesar is now at the head of eleven legions and as much cavalry as he likes. He has on his side the Transpadane, the people of Rome, the majority of the tribunes, all the debauched youth, the influence of his name, and his incredible audaeity."[5]

[1] *C. Marius et . . . L. Sylla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Pompeius occultior, non melior: et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum.* (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 38.)

[2] *Placidam pacem . . .* (i. 41). The philosophy of Epicurus had made great progress at Rome. In the question between liberty and tyranny, it declared in favor of the latter; men being too senseless and wicked for the wise man to expose himself to danger with the view of delivering them. (Plut., *Brut.* 12.) Epicureanism was veritably a doctrine of renouncement. "Epicurus," says Plutarch, "held the sovereign good to be in profound repose, as in a harbor protected from all the winds and waves of the world," and Lucretius is as much occupied in his poem in delivering mankind from the ambition for honors and fame as in freeing it from the yoke of superstition. The height of wisdom, to his thinking, is to attain peace of mind.

[3] Atticus was at the same time, or by turns, the friend of Cicero and of Clodius, of the younger Marius and of Sylla, of Caesar and of Pompey, of Brutus and Antony, and finally of Augustus, who took his grand-daughter into the imperial house.

[4] *Ad unum imperium provinciae redeant exercitusque* (Cic., *De Harusp. resp.* 19).

[5] *Ad Att.* vii. 7. Caesar had not then more than nine legions.

Plutarch, who saw documents which are lost to us, writes, for his part: "All who were candidates for offices publicly gave money, and without any shame bribed the people, who, having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors with their best suffrages, but with bows, swords, and slings, so that, after having many times stained the place of election with the blood of men killed upon the spot, they left the city at last without a government at all, to be carried about like a ship without a pilot to steer her; while all who had any wisdom could only be rejoiced if a course of such wild and stormy disorder and madness might end no worse than in a monarchy.[1] Some were so bold as to declare openly that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentlest physician."[2]

[1] *Caesar*, 28. Cf. App., *Bell. civ.* 19, 20, and Dion, liii. 19: . . . *παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωπθῆναι.* In the conversation of Cratippus with Pompey after Pharsalia, the philosopher "demonstrated to him that, in the position in which affairs then were, a monarchy was necessary in place of a bad government" (Plut., *Pomp.* 75). A century and a half later, Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 9) recognized this truth: *Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur.*

[2] Two letters were long attributed to Sallust, which he was supposed to have written to Caesar, — the one before Pharsalia, the other after the war in Alexandria. They belong to the reign of Augustus, and from their date lose much of their historical importance; but they are none the less curious as a *résumé* of the opinions of those who accepted a monarchy. "In the name of the gods, Caesar, take the Republic in hand, for you alone can remedy our ills. Do not permit the great and invincible empire of the Roman people to fall through age and powerlessness, or to crumble away amid our senseless discords. If the country, if your ancestors, could make themselves heard, they would say to you, 'O Caesar! we have caused thee to be born in the most illustrious city, thee, our glory and support! We ask thee to save our empire from approaching ruin; for if, consumed by the ill which saps it, or struck by the blows of fate, it reaches the point of decadence, who doubts that the whole world would be forthwith given over to devastation, war, and carnage?'"

It is in the name of public peace, in the name of universal order, that the writer implores the victorious general to provide for the safety of Italy and the provinces, and he points out some of the necessary reforms. The people, he says, have become degenerate; infected with vicious principles, and distracted by different pursuits and modes of life, they are no longer fit to have the government of the State. Let a number of new citizens be added to the old; let colonies be founded in which old and new shall be mixed; thus a better state of public morals may be brought about, and the army will be better supplied. This reform will excite great wrath and fury among the nobles, he admits, and it will be said that, if one man is allowed the right of thus creating great numbers of new citizens, the Republic will be turned into a monarchy. By this, however, Caesar should not be deterred, since to hesitate in conferring such a benefit upon the public would be unworthy and cowardly conduct. The writer refers to the attempt of Drusus in this direction, and to his downfall, and conjures Caesar to take warning by that example, and secure for himself, with greater care than did Drusus, many faithful friends and supporters.

Having thus re-established a middle class, Caesar should then devote his care to the cultivation of good morals and harmony among the citizens. The disgraceful and ruinous power of

Those who sought for the great patient the most accommodating physician, the one who would cost least, were bent upon selecting Pompey,[1] who was thus very easily on the way to success; the consuls resigned their power into his hands; he had but to overthrow Caesar, who was the last obstacle; and he reckoned upon succeeding in that without any difficulty. He did not even think there was any need for long preparations. At Ravenna,[2] Caesar had with him but one legion, and it seemed to Pompey his persevering negotiations proved his weakness and his fears.

II. — Crossing of the Rubicon; Caesar takes Possession of Rome and Italy (49 B.C.).

But suddenly the news arrives that Caesar has crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, and has taken Ariminum, where he has shown his soldiers the fugitive tribunes in their slave's garments; that all his forces are advancing, carrying with them Gaul, which promises him ten thousand foot and six thousand horse; that

wealth must be broken down, integrity and simplicity must be restored to honor, and the elections purified.

Furthermore, a reform must be instituted in the Senate. "In these times," says the writer, "a few nobles, whose minds are possessed by timidity and indolence, unacquainted with toil, with an enemy, or with any kind of warfare, but leagued in a party at home, arrogantly usurp authority over the world; while the Senate — by whose counsels the State, when in difficulty, was formerly supported — is overawed, and fluctuates hither and thither at the pleasure of others, decreeing sometimes one thing and sometimes another, and deciding what is good or evil for the public, according to the animosity or presumption of those who rule the hour."

[1] All had been prepared long beforehand to give Pompey the means of overthrowing Caesar, — the kind of dictatorship he had exercised at Rome, where he had filled the consular office while retaining, contrary to law, the proconsulship of Spain; the army which he commanded in Italy; the seven legions in Spain, absolutely useless in that pacified province; the immense fleet which he had at disposal as superintendent of provisions; the thousand talents which he had the right to draw annually from the treasury; the law concerning magistracies, which substituted a new order for the old one, solely destined to hinder Caesar from obtaining the consulship: . . . *omnia contra se* (*Caesarem*) *parari; in se novi generis imperia constitui; . . . in se jura magistratum commutari*, etc. (Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 85.)

[2] Ravenna is about a hundred leagues from Rome. The passage of the Rubicon must have taken place on the 12th of January, 49 B.C., corresponding to the 24th of November, 50. If the calculation were made according to the sixty days fixed by Plutarch for Caesar's conquest of Italy, it would be necessary to put it as far back as the night of the 15th of November.

his legionaries, far from hesitating, are full of ardor, and have given him credit for their pay, while each centurion has furnished him with a horseman; finally, that all the cities are opening their gates to him, and that he in person is rapidly approaching by the Flaminian Way, enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants. "Where is your army?" demands Volcatius of Pompey. "Stamp your foot upon the earth," says Favonius in irony, "it is high time." And the sham great man, cut off from his Spanish legions, was reduced to acknowledge that he could not defend Rome. He attempted to escape Caesar's first impetuosity, detaining him with a pretended negotiation, which he intrusted to one of the proconsul's relatives, and Roscius the praetor. Caesar held to the conditions contained in his letter to the Senate, and expressed the desire to have an interview with Pompey. On their return the deputies loudly praised his moderation. His proposition for simultaneous disarmament appeared fair to all men.[2] It was so, and he made it in all sincerity; for he knew that if the two generals disarmed at the same time, and the elections be-

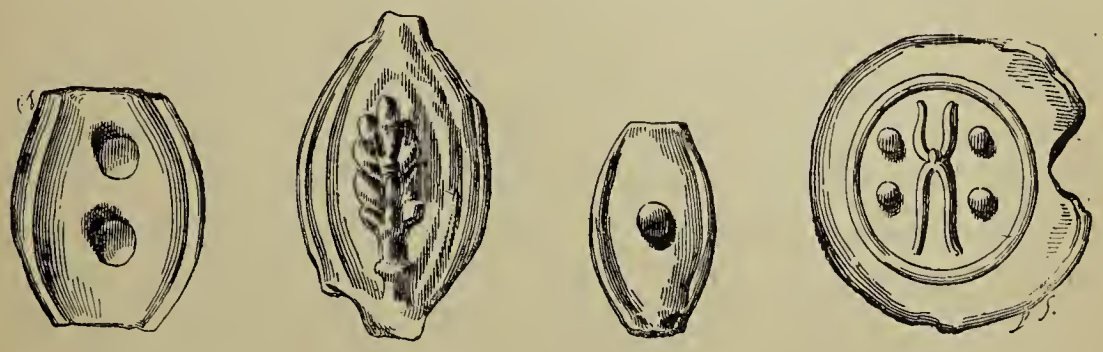
BRONZE DOOR-ORNAMENT FOUND AT CAPUA.[1]

[1] *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 17. This beautiful door-ornament forms part of the collections of the Duc de Luynes, in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. The head of Medusa with which it is ornamented in high relief is, says M. de Chanot (*Op. cit.* p. 69), one of the most perfect specimens of the Gorgon, according to the ideal of the best classical art.

[2] Dion, xli. 5.

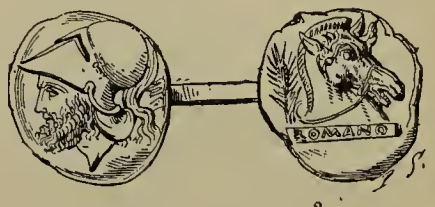
came free, he was sure to be chosen consul. Pompey knew it equally well, and for that reason he desired war. He prevented an answer being sent to Caesar's ultimatum, and notified the senators and magistrates that they must accompany him to Capua.[1] This was no mere advice; he declared that whosoever remained in the city would be treated as a public enemy. Thus, from the very beginning of the campaign, he left his foe in possession of the capital, — an immense advantage in a State where the capital was still everything.

The order was executed, and the senators who were yesterday so threatening were seen fleeing hastily before one legion. Pres-



COINS OF IGUVIUM.

ently the Appian Way was filled with a disorderly crowd, less irritated, perhaps, against the man who seemed to be pursuing them than against him whose haughty carelessness had made no preparations for their defence. At Capua the confusion reached its highest pitch. There was a lack of money, although it had been exacted from all the neighboring towns, and taken from the temples:[3] even men were lacking, for fear had spread everywhere. At Rome, some days earlier, mourning had been assumed, and public prayers ordered, as in times of great calamity. The levies Pompey had attempted to make had been attended with great difficulty. "Some few indeed came in, but those very unwillingly; others would not answer to their names;



COIN OF CAPUA.[2]

[1] Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 33; Plut., *Caesar*, 65; Dion, xli. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 37.

[2] Head of Mars. See vol. i. p. 103, for another specimen of the coins of Capua.

[3] . . . *Pecuniae a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur* (Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 6).

and the generality cried out for peace;" [1] and Cicero found out that his former hero was a very poor general.[2] In the hurry of their flight the consuls had left the treasure-chest at Rome. Pompey wished them to return for it; but an army was needed for its escort, and the two legions at Capua barely sufficed to keep in check the gladiators whom Caesar maintained in that city. Moreover, the latter was rapidly approaching, preceded by this declaration: "I come to deliver the Roman people from a faction which oppresses them, and to re-establish their tribunes in their dignity." Pisaurum, Ancona, Iguvium, Asculum, were taken, or, rather, opened their gates, driving out the Pompeian garrisons.

In order to reduce Caesar's army, leave had been offered to the soldiers, and great promises made to the leaders. One of them, Labienus, the most renowned of his lieutenants, had yielded. This officer was a man in whom Caesar had placed full confidence. During the year 50 he had intrusted him with the command of Cisalpine Gaul, his outpost and fortress. But Labienus, proud of his military fame and of the wealth he had acquired,[3] thought he had done much more towards conquering Gaul than his leader. On the approach of the Civil war he calculated the chances of the two parties, imagined that Pompey would be the stronger, and at the outset of hostilities went over to his side, to the great joy of the Pompeians, who took this flight as a signal for the defections which had been expected. Cicero already saw "the new Hannibal" overthrown. But not a single soldier followed Labienus; and Caesar did not even deign to keep the traitor's money and equipage.[4] This politic generosity, his clemency to prisoners (whom he left free to enlist among his troops, or to return to their own party), the discipline observed by his soldiers, shook the zeal of many. From

COIN OF PISAURUM.

[1] Plut., *Pomp.* 59; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 36.

[2] *Quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium jam ante cognoram; nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγικώτατον* (*Ad Att.* viii. 16).

[3] *Ad Att.* vii. 7, and Dion, xli. 4.

[4] Labienus joined Pompey at Teanum on the 22d or 24th of January, 49 B.C. (*Ad Fam.* xiv. 14).

the very beginning he had used this politic language, "All men who are not opposed to me are my friends," in contrast to Pompey, who declared all to be enemies who did not openly take his side. Caesar thus won to his cause the indifferent and the timid, who are always the most numerous: he also attracted upright minds by circulating in all the cities in Italy his messages to Pompey, conjuring the latter to submit their differences to arbitration.[1] His letters to Oppius and Balbus were quoted: "I shall willingly adopt your advice, and the more so, because, of my own accord, I had resolved to show every lenity, and to use my endeavors to conciliate Pompeius. Let us try by these means if we can regain the affections of all people, and render our victory lasting. Others from their cruelty have not been able to avoid the hatred of mankind, nor to retain their victory long, except L. Sulla alone, whom I do not mean to imitate. Let this be a new method of conquering, — to fortify ourselves with kindness and liberality."[2] We must pardon much to the man who wrote these noble words, so foreign to the political spirit of his time, opposed as he was to a party whose chiefs would have made a far different use of victory.

Pompey, on the contrary, assumed kingly airs: he and those about him had nought but threats in their mouths.[3] "They were so many Syllas." This royalty had been his secret idea for two years past. "He did not desert Rome," says Cicero, "because he could not have defended it; he abandons Italy, not compelled thereto by necessity; his sole design since the commencement has been to excite tumult by land and sea, to raise barbarous kings to revolt, to turn upon Italy destructive waves of savage nations, to assemble innumerable soldiers under him. A power like Sylla's is what he craves, and what all who accompany him wish for." Accordingly, many slipped quietly away and went back to the city.[4]

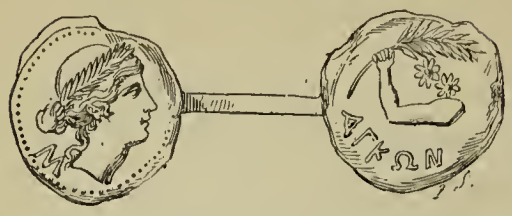
[1] Ἐς δίκην τινα (Dion, xli. 10).

[2] Cic., *Ad Att.* ix. 7c.

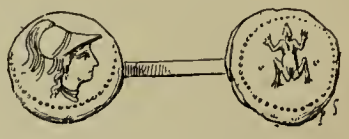
[3] *Sermones minacis, inimicos optimatium, municipiorum hostis, meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas* (*Ad Att.* ix. 11). *Sullaturit . . . proscripturit*, etc. (Cf. Dion, xli. 10.) Is this an allusion to the massacres spoken of by the pseudo-Sallust? (*Epist.* i. 4.) The clemency of Caesar, says Hirtius (*De Bell. Afric.* 88), was a gift of nature in him, but also a policy, *pro natura et pro instituto*. It is so much the more to be praised.

[4] *Bonorum sermones Romae frequentes dicuntur* (*Ad Att.* viii. 11). *Urbem jam refertam esse optimatium audio* (*Ad Att.* ix. 1).

Two great roads led from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul, — one passing through the country of the Etruscans, the other through that of the Umbrians: Caesar rapidly closed them by seizing the strongholds of Arretium on the *via Cassia*, and Iguvium, Pisaurum, and Ancona on the Flaminian Way. The disaffection against the Senate and their general was so great that Picenum, where Pompey had hereditary domains and innumerable clients, offered no resistance. The cities drove out their senatorial garrisons, and opened their gates to Caesar. Asculum made him master of the *via Salaria*, the Sabine approach to Rome. Cingulum, which surrendered to him in spite of the favors with which Labienus had loaded it, put him in possession of the valley of the Velinus, which gives access to those of the Anio and Tiber. All the approaches to the capital were thus in his hands. The Apennine range protected him against troops which might be sent out from Rome; and on the western slope of the mountains he held two positions from which he could advance either upon Etruria or upon Latium.



COIN OF ANCONA.[1]


COIN OF LUCERIA.

But Pompey had no army at Rome; having taken refuge in Campania, he soon found himself no longer safe there, and retired as far as Luceria. This march revealed his design of crossing the sea, and carrying the war into the eastern provinces, where the senators should behold Pompey surrounded by a retinue of kings. There, indeed, great resources were at his disposal. He felt sure that he could count upon the devotion of the cities and princes, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, from the Danube to the cataracts of Syene, from Cyrenaïca to the depths of Spain, which his lieutenants ruled. Finally, the immense fleet which he had collected during his superintendence of provisions formed a connection between all these provinces, and gave him the undisputed empire of the seas. Cicero blames him for abandoning Italy; and posterity has followed Cicero, who was not a great general.[2] But having made

[1] See vol. i. p. 110, for the explanation of the emblem on the reverse, a bent arm.

[2] *Vehementer contemnebat hunc hominem* (*Ad Att.* vii. 8).

HARBOR OF ANCONA.

the mistake of despising his enemy, which prevented his forming anything like a sufficient army before the commencement of hostilities, and then that of anticipating defections, of which only one took place, he could not, with his fresh levies, hold Rome against veteran legions who had been accustomed to conquer during nine campaigns of the most terrible warfare. The retreat beyond the Adriatic was a military necessity, perhaps a long foreseen one.[1]

Caesar perceived this plan as soon as Pompey withdrew from Capua. Being re-enforced by two legions, twenty-two cohorts of Gallic auxiliaries, and three hundred cavalry from Noricum,[2] he advanced by forced marches towards the south, in order to bar against the fugitives the road to Brundusium. The resistance of Domitius at Corfinium delayed him for seven days. In and around the place there were thirty-one cohorts and many senators and knights; but, in that country which had been the centre of the Social war, the people were not eager to fight for Sylla's heirs against the nephew of Marius. The troops of Domitius mutinied, and the town was given up with the immense stores it contained. The usual cruelties were expected: in order to forestall them, Domitius attempted to poison himself. His physician, however, only gave him a narcotic, and he was able, like the others, to implore pardon of the man whom he and his party would certainly not have pardoned. They asked for their lives. "I left my province, not to avenge myself, but to defend myself," Caesar said; and he guaranteed them against all insult from his soldiers; he even allowed them to carry off their wealth without binding them not to serve against him again, — a noble imprudence, which cost him many men and much time and money. A few weeks later Domitius tried to raise Gallia Narbonensis against him, and compromised Caesar's expedition beyond the Pyrenees by detaining three of his legions beneath the walls of revolted Marseilles.

This unusual clemency produced a profound sensation. "I talk frequently with the townsfolk and the country-people," writes Cicero.

[1] *Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit* (*Ad Att.* ix. 10).

[2] These auxiliaries from Noricum prove that Caesar had attached to his cause the nations on the right bank of the Upper Danube, settled to the north of his province of Illyria.

"Their farms, their homes, their little savings, — these are their only care. They dread him whom they lately trusted; they love him who caused them alarm," [1] and, we may add, who now reassures them. These quiet people, with their indifference about politics, and their anxiety for their own interests, belong to all ages. They trembled when they heard approaching the storm let loose by passions which they did not understand, and they prayed for the success of him who seemed likely to restore calm. The old ex-consul ended by going over to their opinion, and he came to wish that Caesar might reach Brundusium soon enough to forestall Pompey, and impose peace upon him.[2]

This peace Caesar ardently desired: at every opportunity he repeated his demand for it, and there is no doubt, that but for Pompey's vast pride which brooked no equal, and the violent hatred of the oligarchy against the popular proconsul, peace would have been easily concluded. From Ariminum, Caesar had sent a message to Pompey, in which, while recalling his just grievances, he renewed the very acceptable proposals which he had already made. Let Pompey go to Spain, and he, Caesar, would disband his troops. Upon this the consular elections could take place with full freedom, and the Senate and people would recover their rights. If any misunderstanding made it impossible for these overtures to be at once accepted, let the two generals meet in conference, and all difficulties would be smoothed away.[3] On learning these conditions there had been great rejoicing among those who dreaded civil war; but they had filled Pompey with fear, for he well knew that, if the people were taken as judges, his rival would win. Accordingly he had made an evasive answer, in which the clearest words were to the effect that the proconsul of the Gauls must return to his province, and that, until he had disbanded his troops, the levies would continue in Italy. Caesar could not trust these

[1] *Ad Att.* viii. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

[3] *De Bell. civ.* i. 9. After the capture of Corfinium, he charged C. Balbus to see the senators, to assure them that he ardently desired peace, and to tell Cicero in particular that he would consent to recognize Pompey's authority if he were certain to have guaranties for his life: *Nihil malle Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere* (*Ad Att.* viii. 9). "Do you believe that?" adds Cicero; and to me, as to him, such great abnegation appears suspicious. But I believe in Caesar's sincere desire to make a peace which could not fail to result in his advantage.

threatening uncertainties:[1] he did not halt in his march. Yet on the road to Brundusium, and even before that town, he twice again asked for an interview. "The consuls are absent," answered Pompey: "we cannot treat without them." And indeed, these blind magistrates, whose eyes the loss of Italy should have opened, would neither see nor hear: they fled, but none the less still dreamed of victories, murders, and proscriptions. Even the pacific Cicero

HARBOR OF BRUNDUSIUM (BRINDISI).[2]

allows himself the reflection that Caesar is but mortal, and that there are many ways in which he might be got rid of.[3] And Pompey never doubted that he should, like Sylla, return from the East master of the world.

When Caesar appeared before Brundusium, the consuls and their five legions were already on the other side of the Adriatic, at Dyrrachium. Pompey had sent them away, "for fear they should attempt something in favor of peace."[4] He himself, left in the

[1] Pompey said a few days before that he was sure of defeating Caesar (*Ad Att.* vii. 16).

[2] From Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique*, p. 609.

[3] *Ad Att.* ix. 10.

[4] Dion, xli. 12.

city with twenty-two cohorts, only awaited the return of his vessels in order to embark. Caesar attempted by great engineering works to shut him up in the town, closing the entrance to the harbor. Before they were completed, the consular fleet returned, and Pompey set sail March 17 (Jan. 25).

During these operations in Italy, three Gallic legions, commanded by Fabius Maximus, had gone to take up a position at Narbo, in order to prevent the Pompeians leaving Spain: the three others, slowly drawing near the Alps, could be directed, according to circumstances, against the Gauls if they should rise, or to the help either of Caesar in Italy or of Fabius in Narbonensis. The line of operations extended, accordingly, from Brundusium to the foot of the Pyrenees; and Caesar no longer had cause to fear being taken in the rear. At the same time, Valerius, without striking a blow, had made himself master of Sardinia, and Curio of Sicily;[1] and thus the two granaries of Rome were in Caesar's hands. Sixty days had sufficed to drive the senatorial party out of Italy, to subdue the peninsula with its islands, and to guarantee the security of the two Gauls.

This extraordinary activity extracts from Cicero, in spite of himself, a cry of admiration and dismay: "Oh, what fearful rapidity! This man is a marvel of vigilance." And his friend Caelius, who had remained among the Caesarians, wrote to him: "What do you think of our soldiers? In the depth of winter they finished the war by a march."[2] But he was mistaken: the war, on the contrary, was destined to be prolonged and extended.

For want of vessels, Caesar had not been able to pursue his rival. To prevent Pompey returning and assuming the offensive, he occupied Brundusium, Sipontum, and Tarentum with troops, then he returned to Rome, which he had not seen for ten years, and where everything had resumed its usual course, — "the praetors sitting in court, the aediles preparing the games, and the people of the winning side taking advantage of the circumstances to put out

[1] Cato had been ordered to defend Sicily; and Cicero, who was very courageous for other people, reproaches him with not having offered resistance: . . . *potuisse certe tenere illam provinciam scio* (*Ad Att.* x. 12). But Curio arrived with his legions, and Cato had not a soldier: he did well not to oppose him with a few provincial militia, who would not have stopped the Caesarians, and would have drawn misfortunes upon the province.

[2] Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 15.

their money at large interest."[1] When the victor re-entered the city on the 1st of April (7th of February), he found there senators enough to reconstitute a Senate, which he opposed to that which Pompey held in his camp. Two tribunes, Antony and Cassius, convoked it upon the Campus Martius, whither Caesar repaired. He reminded them that he had waited ten years, according to law, before soliciting a second consulship, and that he had been legally authorized to canvass that magistracy, though absent: he then set forth his efforts to avert war, his repeated offers to disband his own troops if Pompey would dismiss his. He begged the senators to assist him in the government of the Republic, unless they preferred to leave the burden to him, and finally he asked that an embassy should be appointed to go and treat for peace with the Pompeians.[2]

This last proposal was an entirely sincere one, since Caesar never lost any opportunity of renewing it; but no one was willing to undertake the matter, so much did they dread Pompey's threats against those who had remained in Rome. Caesar did not insist. While pushing on the war energetically, he was willing to gain the advantage of moderation: for this reason he always spoke of reconciliation and concord, although vainly, for the popular instinct was not mistaken. It was felt that a revolution was inevitable, and that Caesar must become master. To show that this royalty did not forget its origin, he assembled the people, and promised them a gratuity in corn and money. But money was already failing him: he obtained the authorization of the Senate to take the treasure deposited in the Temple of Saturn. This was the gold reserved for times of extreme necessity, and the law forbade using it save in case of a Gallic invasion. One of the tribunes, L. Metellus, objected, and adduced laws against it. "If what I do displeases you," Caesar rejoined, "leave the place. War allows no free talking. When I have laid down my arms and made peace, come back and make what speeches you please. And this," he added, "I tell you in diminution of my own just right; for you and all others who have

[1] *Ad Att.* ix. 12.

[2] *De Bell. civ.* i. 30. From the crossing of the Rubicon till Pharsalia, five attempts at negotiations may be counted. (Cf. *Ibid.* i. 8, 23, 25, 30; iii. 8, 17, 49). Paterculus has, therefore, the right to say, *Nihil relictum a Caesare quod servandae pacis causa tentari posset; nihil receptum a Pompeianis.*

appeared against me are now in my power, and may be treated as I please." Upon this he ordered the doors of the treasury to be forced, and, Metellus still opposing, he threatened the tribune with death. Caesar had taken up arms to defend the tribunitian inviolability, he said, and now, in his turn, he violated it. Metellus, yielding to violence, retired. We know nothing of his life except this act of courage, which has preserved his name in history.

III. — Caesar in Spain; Siege of Marseilles (49 B.C.).

Pompey being driven out of Italy, the greatest danger which threatened Caesar at this moment was a rising in Gaul. He hastened thither, after having intrusted the government of the city to Lepidus (son of the consul who in 78 had attempted to overthrow the laws of Sylla); the command of all the troops left in Italy to Marcus Antonius; and that of Illyria to his brother Caius Antonius. The latter was to harass the Pompeians on the east coast of the Adriatic, or close the road against them if they attempted to penetrate by that way into Italy, as report said.[1] "I am about to fight an army without a general," said Caesar; "afterwards I shall attack a general without an army." This pithy saying explains the whole war. Marseilles, Pompeian at heart, stopped him on the way. This city assumed to remain neutral, but had just received within her walls Domitius, whom Caesar had treated so generously, but in vain, at Corfinium. Before the commencement of hostilities, Domitius had been invested by the Senate with the command of Transalpine Gaul, and from Marseilles he could stir up all the province in which his grandfather, by his victories and public works, had established the influence of the Domitian family.[2] Caesar hastened to shut him up in the place, which he caused to be attacked by three legions,

C. ANTONIUS, CAESAR'S LEGATE.

[1] Cicero (*Ad Att.* x. 6) mentions on the 22d of April the report of Pompey's march through Illyria.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 524.

under the command of Trebonius, and by a fleet which Decimus Brutus built in thirty days in the Rhone at the port of Arelate. During these operations the three legions of Fabius moved from Narbo towards Spain to seize the passes of the Pyrenees: three others and six thousand Gallic or German horse made ready to support them. The centurions and tribunes, and other friends of Caesar, had lent him the necessary money, which he was unwilling to raise by confiscations.

MARSEILLES PERSONIFIED.[1]

Terentius Varro, the author, was Pompey's lieutenant in Further Spain; Petreius, an old soldier, in Lusitania; and Afranius, in Hither Spain. The two latter united their forces, and with their five legions, to which were added eighty cohorts and five thousand horse raised in the Province, they made a stand on the north of the Ebro, near Ilerda (Lerida),[2] against Fabius, who had crossed the mountains without encountering the least resistance. On arriving, Caesar found the two armies face to face: his own men, established in a difficult position between the Segre and the Cinca, could only obtain provisions by drawing their convoys from

COIN OF VARRO.[3]

[1] The style of this beautiful marble head, found in the territories of the Voleae-Arecomiei, and preserved at Nismes, seems to fix the execution of the work at the time when Pompey gave the Massiliotes the country of the Arecomici, a short-lived rule, to which Caesar put an end (*Gazette archéol.* 1875, p. 129, and pl. 34).

[2] See p. 77 for the present state of Lerida. The ancient town must have been concentrated on the plateau, and consequently have occupied a very strong position.

[3] VARRO PROP. Head of Jupiter Ternumatus. On the reverse MAGN. PROCOS; dolphin and eagle, separated by trident. Coin of the family Terentia.

countries situated on the right and left of those two rivers. Much difficulty arose in respect to the bridges, which through freshets, and by attacks of the enemy, were repeatedly broken down. Some indecisive engagements took place; finally, by a complete destruction of both bridges, and several days of extremely high water, in which it was impossible to repair them, Caesar found himself, as it were, surrounded and starved out. A bushel of wheat (*modius*)

PUERTA DE LOS BOTES (LERIDA).[1]

was sold in the camp for fifty denarii, and the ill-fed soldiers lost their strength. The situation was becoming serious; for during these long delays, Pompey, had he been the great general he was reputed, might with his powerful fleet have recrossed the Adriatic, recovered Italy and Rome, where but insufficient forces had been left, delivered Marseilles, and crushed Caesar between the legions of Petreius and his own.

[1] *Puerta de los Botes* (Roman gate). (Delaborde, vol. i. pl. lxxi.).

Meanwhile Curio with two legions had crossed from Sicily into Africa, where Varro commanded for Pompey. During his tribuneship, desirous to obtain the honor, and doubtless the profit, of confiscating a kingdom, Curio had proposed to despoil Juba, king of the Numidians.[1] The prince had naturally retained a feeling of resentment, which made him a devoted Pompeian. He put all his troops in motion, united them with those of Varro; and Curio, being defeated on the banks of the Bagradas, slew himself. The victors butchered the legionaries whom they took prisoners. Dolabella, whom Caesar had intrusted with the building of a fleet on the Adriatic, was also defeated by Octavius and Scribonius Libo; and finally, C. Antonius, in Illyria, fell into the hands of the Pompeians.

JUBA I.[2]

When news came to Rome of these disasters to the lieutenants, and of the critical position of the leader, whose dangers the letters of Afranius exaggerated, his cause was thought lost. Many senators who had hitherto remained neutral hastened to Dyrrachium. It is sad to find among them Cicero, who had hitherto remained in Italy. A few months earlier, this decision would have looked like devotion to the Republican cause: now it might be called by a hard name. For his defence it must be said that he had flattered himself with the idea of acting as mediator between the two rivals. But, after the visit Caesar had paid him on returning from Brundusium, he had perceived that nothing was wanted of him but his signature to decrees that were about to be passed, and he had been wounded to the quick at the discovery of his political insignificance. From that time it had been his intention, in spite of Caesar's letters and the advice of Atticus, who had remained at Rome, secretly to rejoin Pompey, while all the time he said, "Ah! I see plainly which will prove the better policy." He referred to a neutrality, which would have saved his life and his fortune. This was not weakness, but rather a too clear-sighted intelligence; for while he loved with a sincere affection that Republic in which eloquence had raised him to honor, he also knew that, whoever proved victor, the Republic would perish on the battlefield:[3] hence this despondency,

[1] Dion, xli. 41.

[2] Juba I., from a gold coin of that prince (Visconti, *Icon. grecq.* vol. iii. pl. 55).

[3] *Uterque regnare vult*, he wrote to Atticus (viii. 11). He repeats it (x. 7): *Regnandi*

this uncertainty and apparent vacillation, which we cannot but condemn, for this example of a great man has perhaps in other times

PLAN OF THE ENVIRONS OF LERIDA.[1]

been thought to justify indifference and cowardice, or has furnished treason with sophistries. In the end he forgot his prudence and

contentio est, and in the *Pro Marcello* he again says, in the year 46 (if this speech is really his), that the Civil war had been only the conflict of two ambitions. That of the Pompeians appears to him much to be feared: *Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletium non abstinere . . . tegulam in Italia nullam relicturum.* (*Ad Att.* ix. 7, xi. 6; *Ad Fam.* iv. 14; cf. Dion, xli. 56.) Appian also says (*Bell. civ.* ii. 48), *οὐ γαρ ἄδηλον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τον νικῶντα τρέφεσθαι.*

[1] Petreius and Afranius occupied a fine position at No. 8, which has served in modern

the jests he had made about Solon's law against neutrality: unhappily he forgot them at a moment when, in going over to Pompey, he made it plain that he went, not because the senatorial party was in the right, but because it seemed to be becoming the stronger. Such, indeed, was the rule of conduct which Caelius had long counselled. "As long as they keep to words," he had written to him, "I shall be with the honest folks: if it comes to blows, I shall range myself on the side of those who deal the hardest." [1] But Caelius had gone over to Caesar: Cicero "went, like Amphiaraus, to cast himself living into the gulf." [2]

Meanwhile in Spain, events had taken an unexpected turn. Caesar had had boats built of light wood, osier, and leather, after the pattern of certain that he had formerly seen in Britain. These he sent by night in wagons, twenty-two miles from his camp, to the banks of the Segre, far from the enemy's scouts; a good number of soldiers, crossing at this point, intrenched themselves upon the other side, and could then quietly build a bridge for his convoys to use. Some time later, that he might not be obliged to send his cavalry so far to forage, he conceived the plan of draining the river by numerous canals thirty feet deep in order to make the main stream fordable. Some successful skirmishes led to the defection of

wars to cover the entrance into Aragon. They were there masters of both banks of the Segre, Lerida having a stone bridge which allowed them to cross to the right bank at will. Fabius, Caesar's lieutenant, had established himself a league and a half away from the enemy, between the Noguera Ribargorsana and the Segre, over which he threw two bridges four thousand paces apart. When he sent his troops to forage on the left bank of the Segre, the Pompeians attacked them. Plancus, who was in command, withdrew to the hill (No. 3), where he was able to defend himself till his leader came to the rescue. On his arrival, Caesar, in order to press the enemy closer, established his camp in No. 7; then he attempted to obtain possession of a hill which stood between the enemy's camp and the town, at No. 6, but did not succeed. When the rising of the Segre had swept away his two bridges, and interrupted his communications with the high lands by which supplies reached him, he drained off the river, and drew away some of the water into a natural hollow (No. 4), whence a fresh canal led it into a stream which flowed into the Segre below Lerida. This work allowed him to receive his provisions, and to cross over on to the left bank, where he, in turn, impeded the efforts of the Pompeians to revictual. Afranius then crossed the Segre, in order to escape by descending the right bank. At first he left two of his legions encamped in No. 5, and with the remainder of his forces he reached positions 11 and 12, following line No. 10. Caesar effected the same movement along line No. 9, and then supported his left on the Segre, at the spot where it receives the Cinca, and his right on the mountains, — position No. 14. The Pompeians established in No. 13 found themselves surrounded. (De Laborde, vol. i. pl. 72, and p. 42 *sq.*, after the *Mémoires militaires* of Colonel Guischard.)

[1] *Ad Fam.* viii. 14.

[2] It is Cicero who thus speaks of himself when he went to join Pompey (*Ad Fam.* vi. 6).

several tribes; and the Pompeian generals were reduced to quit their position at Ilerda, where Caesar, with his numerous Gallic cavalry, would have at length starved them into surrender. But to beat a retreat before so active a general was a difficult undertaking. They attempted it, however. Not one of their movements, by night or by day, escaped his vigilance. He guessed all their plans, forestalled them in all the positions they tried to occupy, always postponing an engagement, always restraining the eagerness of his own soldiers, and making everything bend to his desire to terminate the affair without bloodshed, "being," as he says, "touched with compassion for Afranius' soldiers, who after all were fellow-citizens."[1] At last the Pompeian generals surrendered, and implored the clemency of the victor (June 9, 49 B.C.). Caesar accepted their submission kindly, and only exacted that the troops should be disbanded. He undertook to find them in corn till they should reach the frontiers of Italy, and promised to restore to them all their lost possessions that could be identified among the booty his soldiers had made. This campaign, in which, "by the influence of his manœuvres," Caesar subdued, without fighting, an army equal in strength to his own, was the admiration of the great Condé and of Napoleon. Either through imprudent slowness or calculated delay, Varro had not effected a junction with his two colleagues in time. All resistance was now impossible to him: he appeared at Corduba before the victor, who took away his military chest, swelled by numerous exactions.[2]

Having conquered and pacified this wholly Pompeian province in forty days,[3] Caesar set out for Marseilles, whither his foe, who had an immense fleet at disposal, had only succeeded in sending the insignificant re-enforcement of sixteen galleys under command of Nasidius. Shut up within their walls by two defeats inflicted by Decimus Brutus, the skilful leader who had so well conducted the war against the Veneti, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremities. On the arrival of the proconsul they decided to enter into negotiations, and gave up their arms, their vessels, and all

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 42.

[2] Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 37–87. Respecting this clemency, it must be noted that Afranius, having seized all Caesar's soldiers who had come into his camp under protection of a tacit truce, had ordered them to be put to death (*Ibid.* 76, and App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 43).

[3] Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* ii. 32.

the money in the public treasury. Here, again, Caesar did himself honor by his clemency: he had no occasion, however, to exercise it towards Domitius, who fled before the town opened its gates.

Like Alexander, Caesar concerned himself about what men thought of him. About barbarous towns he had few scruples: their ruin was a matter of no importance. But Marseilles was celebrated, it was the Athens of Gaul; and he spared it. He left undisturbed its liberty and laws, and its walls; but he took away its arms, vessels, and treasure. He deprived it of several subject towns, amongst others of Agde and Antibes, which he made Roman colonies, and he founded, at the mouth of the Argens,[1] Frejus (Forum Julii), which he destined as a rival to Massilia on the east coast, as Narbo was on the west. A few years later, under Augustus, Frejus became one of the arsenals of the Empire, and Strabo calls Narbo the port of all Gaul. In this latter town, and at Béziers and Arles, he established those of soldiers who had completed their term of military service.

THE GOLDEN GATE AT FREJUS.

These last operations insured the submission of all the western provinces of the Empire, — those which furnished the bravest soldiers.[2] Caesar, now secure from danger in the rear, was at liberty to go in search of the general whose best army he had just destroyed.

[1] A river the great alluvial deposits of which have choked up the navigable lagoon which formerly separated the town from the sea. On the subject of the Roman constructions at Frejus, which quickly had all the public buildings which appeared necessary for a colony, — thermae, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and in addition great military establishments, an aqueduct thirty-seven miles long, etc., — see the interesting study by M. Lentheric: *Frejus, le port romain et la lagune de l'Argens.*

[2] Mention has been made of a rising of the Volcae-Arecomici (Nîmes) and Allobroges (Dauphiné and Savoy), who, on the pretext of fidelity to the Roman Senate, are said to have seized this opportunity afforded by the Civil war to draw the sword once more upon their conquerors. Caesar is said to have punished them severely, and Nîmes to have long kept in

He was still before the walls of Marseilles when he heard that, on the proposal of Lepidus, the people had proclaimed him dictator. Many of the prescribed formalities had been omitted: a praetor and the people, instead of a consul and the Senate, had invested him with the office. But amid the din of arms the mere appearance of legality seemed to suffice. As he was on the way to Rome to take possession of his new magistracy, he came upon his ninth legion in open revolt at Placentia, because they had not yet received the gifts promised at Brundusium. The example was dangerous; and Caesar punished the troops severely. Twelve of the ringleaders were condemned to die by the axe. One of the twelve having proved that he was outside the camp during the disturbance, the centurion who had accused him was executed in his place.

Caesar retained the dictatorship for twelve days only, just long enough to accomplish the few measures necessary for the tranquillity of Rome and Italy. Since the commencement of the war, pecuniary difficulties had been general, and credit unobtainable; all coinage seemed to be withdrawn from circulation; and a general abolition of debts was feared, which would have brought on a frightful panic.[1] Caesar resorted to a happy expedient, employed in earlier times. He appointed arbitrators to appraise all property of debtors, real and personal, according to its value before the war, and ordered that creditors should receive it in payment, after deducting from the amount of their claims the interest already paid.[2] To stimulate the circulation of specie, he forbade any person to have in his house more than sixty thousand sesterces of coined money, — a measure difficult to carry out, especially when he added, through respect for ancient right, that a slave should not be allowed to depose against his master.[3] The people had hoped for something more; but he appeased them by a large distribution of corn. All those who rightly or wrongly had suffered from the former govern-

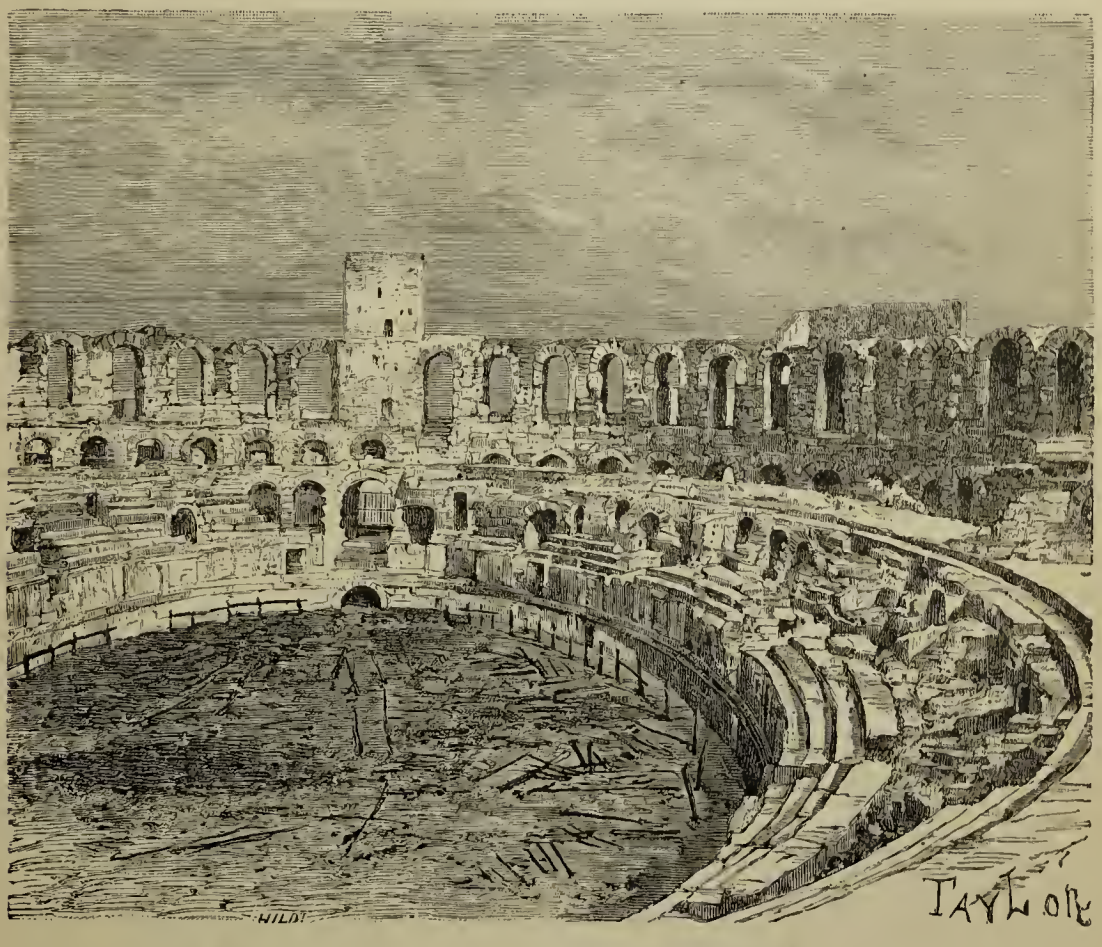
one of her squares an inscription recalling their chastisement. This inscription is false: the event which it had seemed to prove must therefore be considered doubtful.

[1] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 42; Dion, xli. 37. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust say that Caesar, in not abolishing debts, deceived the hopes of many, who fled to Pompey's camp, where they found an inviolable asylum, *quasi sacro atque inspoliato fano* (*Epist.* ii. 2). Cicero repeats the same several times.

[2] Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* iii. 1; App. ii. 48; Dion, xli. 38.

[3] It may be that this law was passed before his departure for Spain.

ment naturally obtained his protection. At the outset of hostilities, many banished men, whose condemnation Pompey had obtained during his third consulship, had offered their services to Caesar, and he caused a law to be presented to the people by the tribunes, recalling these persons from exile. Milo, the murderer of a fellow-tribune, and Antonius, the involuntary conqueror of Catiline, were,



THE AMPHITHEATRE AT ARLES: VIEW OF THE INTERIOR (P. 441).

however, excepted from the amnesty. Sylla's law inflicting political incapacity upon the children of proscribed persons was still in full vigor; it was repealed; and finally the Cisalpines were rewarded for their long fidelity by the concession of citizenship.[1] Before relinquishing his dictatorship, Caesar presided at the consular comitia, which appointed him consul with Servilius Isauricus: the other offices were given to his partisans with all legal formalities.

[1] He organized *τὴν πολιτείαν ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν* (Dion, xli. 36). Cisalpine Gaul was so Roman that it had already given birth to Catullus, Bibaculus, Cassius of Parma, Corn. Gallus, and Livy; yet it continued to be looked upon as a province until the year 42 B.C.

He himself had only assumed the fasces at the period fixed by the law which had promised him the consular office after ten years' proconsulship.[1]

Thus the Republic lasted, to Caesar's advantage. Nothing was wanting to him that belonged to a legal government, — decrees of the Senate, elections by the people, sanction of the curiae, and auspices. As a proconsul, Caesar became a rebel as soon as he left his province; but, now that he was a consul legally instituted, the right, in the eyes of this formalist people, was on his side and the revolt on the side of his enemies. The latter themselves recognized that in losing Rome they had lost their legal standing, or at least the power to make their position legal; for although there were two hundred senators in Pompey's camp, and his soldiers were called the true Roman people, they dared not pass decrees there, nor proceed to elections; and, when the year was over, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus laid down their title, and, according to custom, took the name of proconsuls.

IV. — The War in Epirus and Thessaly; Pharsalia (49–48 B.C.).

At the end of October, 49, Caesar arrived at Brundusium, the rendezvous of his troops, in order to cross over thence into Epirus. Pompey, having had a whole year to complete his preparations undisturbed by wars, and free from the interruption of an enemy, had collected a mighty fleet from Asia, the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Egypt, and had given orders for the building of ships in all parts. He had exacted great sums from the people of Asia and Syria, from the kings, tetrarchs, and dynasties of those parts, from the free States of Achaia, and from the corporations of the provinces subject to his command.

"He had raised nine legions of Roman citizens; five he had brought with him from Italy; one had been sent to him from Sicily,

[1] Jan. 1, 48 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar: in reality, about the end of October, 49 B.C.

consisting wholly of veterans, and called *Gemella*, because composed of two; another from Crete and Macedonia, veteran soldiers likewise, who, having been disbanded by former generals, had settled in those parts; and two more from Asia, levied by the care of Lentulus. Besides all these he had great numbers from Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia, and Epirus, whom, together with Antony's soldiers, he distributed among the legions by way of recruits.[1] He expected also two legions that Metellus Scipio was to bring out of Syria. He had three thousand archers, drawn together from Crete, Lace-

MOUNTED ARCHER.[2]

daemon, Pontus, Syria, and other provinces, six cohorts of slingers, and two of mercenaries. His cavalry amounted to seven thousand, six hundred of which came from Galatia, under Dejotarus; five hundred from Cappadocia, under Ariobarzanes; and the like number had been sent him out of Thrace by Cotys, with his son Sadalis at their head. Two hundred were from Macedonia, commanded by Rascipolis, an officer of distinction; five hundred from Alexandria, consisting of Gauls and Germans left there by A. Gabinius to serve

[1] Pompey even received some men from Athens. He separated his Greek contingents from his Oriental auxiliaries, "because," says Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 75), "they were more accustomed to keep their ranks in silence."

[2] From the Column of Marcus Aurelius, also called the Antonine Column.

as a guard to King Ptolemy, and now brought over by young Pompey in his fleet, together with eight hundred of his own domestics. Tarcondarius Castor and Donilaus furnished three hundred Gallo-Grecians: the first of these came in person, the latter sent his son. Two hundred, most of them archers, were sent from Syria by Commagenus of Antioch, who lay under the greatest obligations to Pompey. There were likewise a great number of Dardanians and Bessians, partly volunteers, partly mercenaries, with others from

DYRRACHIUM.[1]

Macedon, Thessaly, and the adjoining states and provinces, who all together made up the number mentioned above.

"To subsist this mighty army he had taken care to amass vast quantities of corn from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, Cyrene, and other countries, resolving to quarter his troops during the winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the other maritime towns, to prevent Caesar's passing the sea; for which purpose he ordered his fleet to cruise perpetually about the coasts." [2]

[1] Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, pl. 27.

[2] Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* iii. 3, and App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 49. The Pompeian forces might easily amount to eighty thousand men; but the strength of Republican feeling must not be judged by the number of Pompey's troops. These legions had been enrolled before the rupture, in virtue of legitimate orders, according to ancient customs, with the formality of the oath, which placed every soldier in danger of extreme penalties if he failed to keep it. As for the auxiliaries, all these nations and kings of the East, Pompey's clients, were bound to his fortunes, and had no power to refuse him their aid. Then there had come to him the familiars and protégés of the nobles, whom they had drawn along with them, and in their trains the volunteers and adventurers who were attracted by his reputation and the hope of making a fruitful campaign under him.

Caesar could name among his allies neither so many nations nor so many kings. Yet not to mention the legion of the Lark (Alauda), or the aid furnished by the Gallic and Spanish cities, by the Cisalpines and the nations of Italy, he had enrolled the German horse, whose courage he had often put to the proof; and no doubt the example of the king of Noricum, who had sent him troops at the very commencement of the war, had been followed by other chiefs on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. Thus it was the East and the West which were about to grapple and to fight, not for a Senate and a liberty which were no longer known, but for Caesar or Pompey; each great division of the Empire desiring one or the other for master after having had them alternately as conquerors and benefactors. The forces, however, did not appear equal. Caesar had neither fleet, nor money, nor stores, and his troops were less in number; but for ten years they had lived in tents, and their devotion to his person, as well as their confidence in his fortune, was unlimited: no labors, no fatigues, could dismay them, and they had, which makes numbers double, the habit of victory. If Pompey's army was the stronger, there was less discipline among the soldiers, less obedience among the leaders. To see the foreign attire in his camp, to hear the orders given in twenty different languages, suggested those Asiatic armies to whom the soil of Europe has been always fatal. At headquarters there was another thing strange to see: so many magistrates and senators hampered the chief, though he had been given full power to decide on everything.[1] Since they were fighting for the Republic, it was certainly fitting that the commander-in-chief should show the Conscript Fathers, constituted into a council at Thessalonica, a deference which was at once a good augury and a good example; but did this deference suit the necessities of war?

The ancients did not like sailing in winter-time. Accordingly, though the passage between Brundusium and Dyrrachium was only twenty-four hours long, Pompey did not expect to be attacked before the spring, and he had quartered his troops in Thessaly and Macedonia. It was this very severity of the season which decided Caesar. With his transport-fleet he could only cross by

[1] Dion, xli. 43; Plut., *Pomp.* 64.

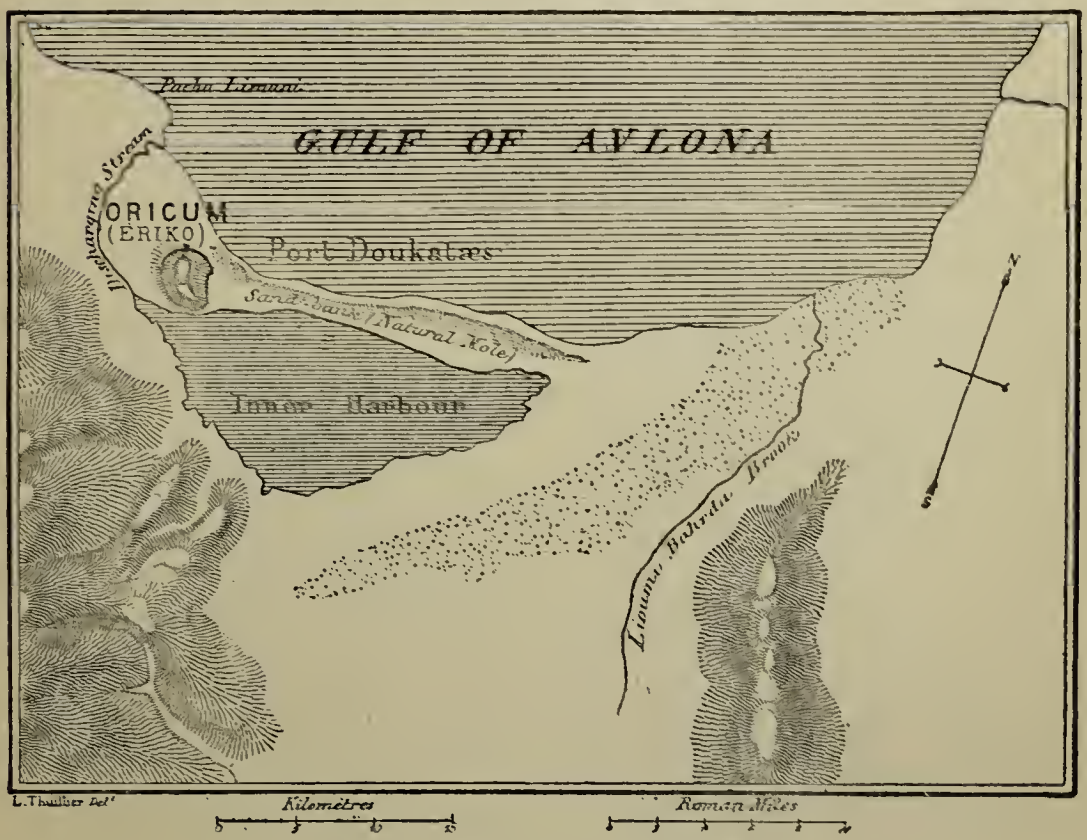
surprise, and this surprise was only possible in winter, when the Pompeian squadrons had taken shelter from heavy weather in the harbors. Notwithstanding his numerical inferiority and the dangers of the sea, Caesar, therefore, again assumed the offensive. On the 4th of January, 48 (5th of November, 49), he embarked in transport-vessels seven legions, consisting of only fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Had he encountered the Pompeian fleet, it would have been all over with him; but, as he had expected, the empty Pompeian galleys were riding quietly at anchor in the road-

DYRRACHIUM AND NEIGHBORING COAST.

steads of Oricum and Coreyra: his daring stroke had been well planned. The seven legions crossed without meeting a single hostile vessel, and landed at the foot of the Acroceraunian Mountains, in the roadstead of Paleassa (Paljassa). "They found he had arrived, before they heard he had started." Pompey's admiral was the unfortunate ex-consul whom fortune always opposed to Caesar, and whose fate it was to be always outwitted by him. Bibulus, hastening up too late, avenged himself on the vessels which Caesar sent back empty the same night to Brundusium, to bring over Antony and the remainder of his troops: he captured thirty of them, which he burnt, with their pilots and sailors. Then, in order to expiate his negligence,

he stationed his fleet along the coast, and himself remained on board ship in spite of the inclemency of the weather, wearying himself out so much with watching sea and shore that he was seized with an illness which carried him off.

The first town Caesar came upon was Oricum (Eriko). The Pompeian officer in command proposed to defend it; but the inhabitants declared that they would not fight a consul of the Roman people, and opened their gates: at Apollonia, on the mouth of the



PLAN OF THE HARBOR OF ORICUM.[1]

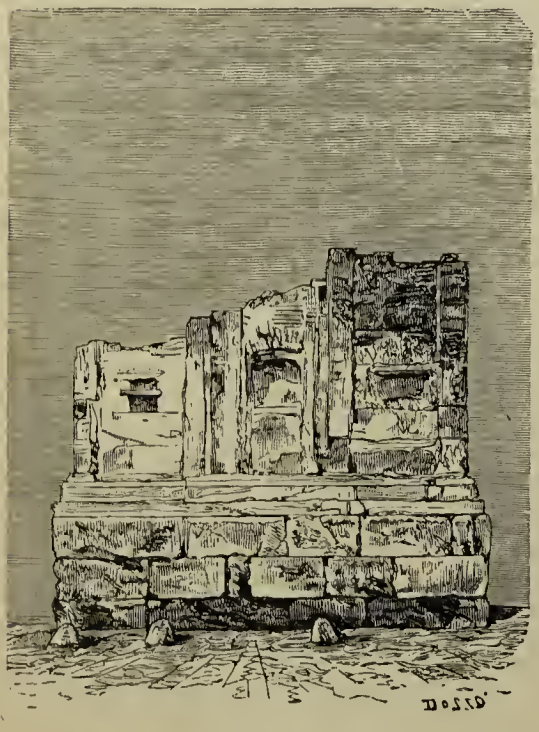
Aoüs (Voiussa), the same thing happened. He attached more importance to the possession of Dyrrachium (Durazzo),[2] on account of its strong position and its harbor, which was the best on that coast. Learning that Pompey had forestalled him by establishing his stores

[1] Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*.

[2] Dyrrachium stood at the end of a little chain of steep hills running parallel to the sea, and separated from the continent by large lagoons. To the north, a strip of sand connected these cliffs with Cape Pali; to the south, the lagoons communicated with the sea by a narrow discharge-channel, so that to reach Dyrrachium by land there were but two narrow approaches, easy to defend. Caesar had established his camp on the plateau of Arapaï; Pompey placed his farther south. (See Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, p. 370 *sq.*)

there, he halted on the banks of the Apsos (Beratino) to protect the places which had yielded to him, and the districts of Epirus, whence he drew his supplies.

Again he proposed peace, less in the hope that it would be made than to conciliate public opinion. He wrote to Pompey that it was now time for both to desist, and lay down their arms; that the losses they had already sustained ought to serve as lessons, and fill them with just apprehensions in regard to the future; that Pompey having lost Sicily and Sardinia, the two Spains, and about a hundred and thirty cohorts of Roman citizens, and he himself having been a sufferer by the death of Curio, the destruction of the African army, and the surrender at Corcyra, they ought both to show some regard to the sinking state of the commonwealth, and refer conditions of peace to the decision of the Roman Senate and people.



TOMB OF BIBULUS (PRESENT STATE).

Caesar risked nothing in making these proposals. As dictator he had filled up the number of the Senate in such a way as to have nothing to fear from the Pompeian senators, and, as consul in charge, he remained master of the situation for all the year 48. But Pompey, indeed, did not put his rival's disinterestedness to the proof; and Caesar reports some words of his which cannot have been his official answer, but which certainly express his secret thoughts: "What is my life or country to me, if I shall seem to be beholden to Caesar for them? And will it be believed that I am not indebted to him for them, if he, by an accommodation, restores me to Italy?"[1]

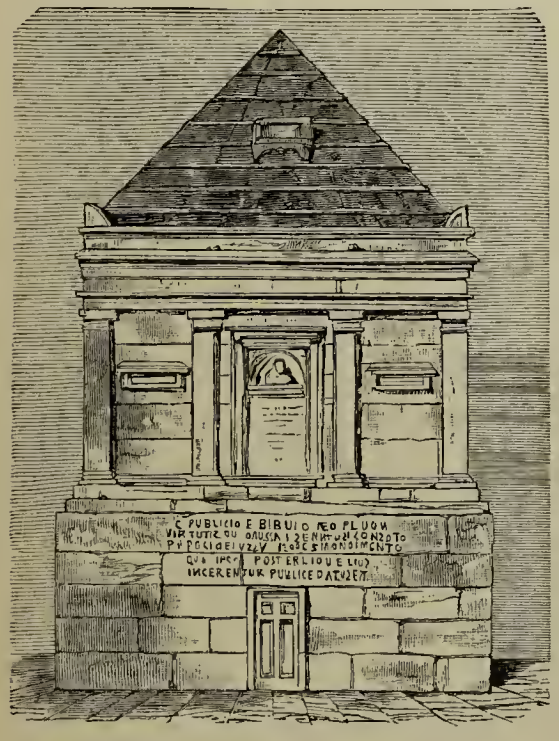
The two camps being separated only by a narrow river, much

[1] Caesar says (*De Bell. civ.* iii. 18) that he was informed after the war, of these words, which doubtless escaped Pompey in intimate conversation, and were afterwards reported to the victor by one of his intimates.

conversation passed between them. One day, Vatinius on Caesar's behalf, and Labienus on that of Pompey, were discussing aloud the conditions of an arrangement. The soldiers listened: they might, perhaps, take seriously the great words about an impious war and a country in tears, and compel their leaders to treat. Suddenly a shower of arrows, according to Caesar's account, came from the Pompeian ranks; and Labienus broke up the conference, crying, "Leave off prating of an accommodation! You must not expect peace till you bring us Caesar's head." It is certain that the Pompeians, unless Caesar has maligned them, thought only of massacres. A ship sailing from Brundusium having been taken at sea, all on board were butchered. Cicero's remark, quoted above, gives credibility to these stories.[1]

COIN OF BIBULUS.

Meanwhile, urgent messages ordered Antony to cross the straits with the first favorable wind; but the days passed by, and Antony did not arrive. It is related that Caesar, little accustomed to these delays, was anxious to go himself for his legions, and that one evening he quitted the camp alone, went on board a river-craft, and ordered the pilot to sail out to sea. A contrary wind, which began to blow almost immediately, raised the waves; and the pilot, frightened at the storm, refused to proceed. "What dost thou fear?" said his unknown passenger: "thou bearest Caesar and his fortune!" All these founders of empires believe, or feign to believe, in a fatality which protects them until they have accomplished their work. He was obliged, however,


TOMB OF BIBULUS[1] (RESTORED).

[1] Again he says (*Ad Fam.* iv. 14): "I knew how insolent, covetous, and cruel those whose party I followed would be after the victory."

[2] This tomb is not that of Pompey's admiral. The inscription engraved upon it is to the

if the anecdote, in spite of the silence of the "Commentaries," is true, to return to shore; but the tempest served him on another occasion. Since the death of Bibulus, the Pompeian fleet had been without a leader: by an unfortunate want of firmness, or in order not to intrust so important a command to another ex-consul, who might be less docile and less sure, Pompey allowed the eight lieutenants of Bibulus to manage their squadrons at their own will. They did not agree; the watch was less actively kept; and one day, when the south wind was blowing hard, Antony arrived off Apollonia in a few hours with four legions and eight hundred horse. Driven by the storm, he passed Dyrrachium, and could only land at the port of Nymphaeum, a hundred miles, at least, from Caesar's camp. Two of his ships had been intercepted by the enemy. One of them carried two hundred recruits who, fatigued with sea-sickness, yielded, and, in spite of the promise that their lives would be spared, were butchered. The other carried two hundred veterans: they forced the pilot to run the ship on shore, and were saved.[1] Thus Pompey found himself between the two Caesarian armies, and it would have been easy for him to crush Antony. He tried to do so, but with delays which allowed the two leaders to effect a junction (April, 48).

The movement of the Pompeians had led them away from Dyrrachium. Caesar by a long circuit marched upon the town, and established himself there, thus rendering Pompey's return impossible. They followed him, and camped on a hill called Petra, which had a sheltered harbor. Then commenced a struggle of four months' duration. Caesar, unable to bring his rival to decisive action, conceived the bold idea of enclosing in a line of intrenched positions an army which was superior to his own in number. At Alesia and in Spain this manœuvre had succeeded, because he had

effect that the Senate and people conceded, *honoris virtutisque causa*, the ground whereon the monument stood to one Bibulus, a plebeian aedile, for him and his posterity. (Orelli, No. 4698.) We know nothing of this aedile; but the Bibuli, being plebeians, doubtless belonged to this house. Was this tomb, one of the rare monuments left us of the Republican epoch, situated within, or without, the walls of the city? This subject has been much discussed. The inscription announces a great favor, and leads to the supposition that an exception had been made to the law of the Twelve Tables, which forbade burial in the city. But, on the other hand, how is it that Cicero, who in the *De Legibus* (ii. 23), composed in 52, mentions the exceptions made to that law, does not mention this one, which hardly seems as if it could have been made later?

[1] Caesar adds, *Hic cognosci licuit, quantum esset hominibus praesidii in animi fortitudine* (*De Bello civ.* iii. 28).

been able to starve out his foes. Here that result was impossible, since the Pompeian army had command of the sea. His veterans, ever admirable, commenced gigantic works with their usual activity. All around Pompey's camp were high and steep hills, of which Caesar took possession and built forts on them, drawing lines of communication between. Two motives had decided him to follow this plan: first to keep himself in supplies, while at the same time distressing the enemy for lack of food; and, second, to show the world the great Pompey imprisoned in his camp and not daring to fight.

Napoleon has severely condemned these manœuvres. "They were extremely rash," says he, "and accordingly Caesar was punished for them. How could he hope to maintain with advantage the long line of contravallation, six leagues in extent, surrounding an army which commanded the sea and occupied a central position? After immense labors he failed, was defeated, lost the flower of his troops, and was compelled to quit the field of battle." Pompey opposed him with a line of circumvallation protected by twenty-four forts, and this line he constantly expanded in order to weaken his opponent's line by forcing it to be extended. Every day skirmishes took place between the two armies. Once the whole of the ninth legion was engaged, and for a moment Pompey thought he had victory in his hands. But the veterans sustained their reputation, and drove back the enemy. In one of these daily attacks the foe hurled so many projectiles into a fort that not a soldier was without a wound. They proudly showed Caesar thirty thousand arrows which they had collected, and the shield of one of their centurions pierced with a hundred and twenty darts.

It has been remarked that French soldiers have been on short rations when they have gained their greatest victories.[1] Caesar's men were also accustomed to scarcity, caused by the rapidity and boldness of his manœuvres. Nowhere did they suffer so much as at Dyrrachium. Caesar had indeed sent detachments into Epirus, Aetolia, Thessaly, and even Macedon. But only rare and scanty supplies could be drawn from those countries, exhausted as they

[1] This remark of General Foy (*Mémoires sur la guerre d'Espagne*) is flattering to French patriotism, but does not do credit either to the prudence of the generals or the foresight of the commissariat department.

were by the presence of so many armies; for, in addition, Metellus Scipio had arrived there with his two legions. The soldiers were reduced to pounding roots, and kneading them with milk to make a sort of bread. This furnished an abundance of food, and, when the Pompeians taunted them on the scarcity among them, they threw in some of these loaves; and they were often heard to say among themselves that they would live on the bark of trees rather than let Pompey escape. The latter had corn in abundance; but he lacked water and forage. Caesar had diverted the streams which flowed down from the mountains, and the Pompeians were reduced to the brackish water of the seacoast. Accordingly, the baggage animals and horses died in great numbers, and the exhalations arising from so many dead bodies tainted the air, and caused diseases which killed many men. At length Pompey thought he had found a favorable opportunity, and, guided by deserters, he prepared a night attack by land and sea, and very nearly cut off a whole legion which was encamped on the shore. Antony only succeeded in saving it after heavy losses. In order to make immediate amends for this check, Caesar penetrated the enemy's camp at the head of thirty-three cohorts. But his right wing, having mistaken the way, left between itself and the rest a gap, into which Pompey immediately threw himself: the broken ranks of the Caesarians fled in disorder. In vain did Caesar confront the fugitives. A panic had seized his troops; he himself was carried away, and left thirty-two standards in the enemy's hands.

That day Pompey might have ended the war. The facile success, however, had made him fear an ambuscade, and he dared not follow up his victory. It was proclaimed, however, as a decisive affair, and, on announcing it to all the provinces, he resumed the title of Imperator. It was said in his camp that Caesar had gained his renown very cheaply; that he could conquer barbarians, but fled before Roman legions; that it was to treason that he owed all his successes in Spain. Some prisoners had been taken; Labienus, anxious to prove his zeal to his new friends, claimed them: "and," says Caesar, "this deserter, cruel and brutal as usual, diverted himself with insulting them in their calamity, and asked them sarcastically if it was usual for veterans to run away; after which he caused them all to be put to death." Cato had caused a decree to be passed

by the Pompeian Senate, that no town should be plundered, no citizen put to death off the battlefield. He veiled his head that he might not see in what manner military leaders, when once the sword is drawn, obey the decrees of the civil power (May and June, 48 B.C.).

While the Pompeians were declaring the war at an end, the Caesarian legions, who had soon recovered from their fright, eager to obliterate the disgrace, demanded the punishment of the guilty, and were anxious to be at once led against the enemy. But Caesar had other plans. His position was no longer tenable; provisions would soon fail; and Scipio was approaching: by advancing to meet that leader, he was sure to draw after him the now confident enemy, and he might, perhaps, find an opportunity for a battle. In any case he would gain space, collect provisions, and lead the Pompeians away from their fleet.

Leaving his sick and wounded, therefore, at Apollonia, he passed through Epirus by Gomphi, which he sacked, because it closed its gates against him, and entered Thessaly. All the towns in the valley of the Peneus, except Larissa, yielded to him; and in this fertile land his soldiers found themselves in the midst of an abundance which they had not known since they left Brundusium.

As he had foreseen, Pompey followed him, in spite of the advice of Afranius, who advised a return to Italy.[1] Cato and Cicero had been left at Dyrrachium with the baggage: the criticism and republican regrets of the one, and the peevish temper of the other, annoyed the Imperator. Dissatisfied with himself and with others, Cicero had brought into the camp only his mocking spirit, his discouragement, and his well-founded fear of the proscriptions which would follow the victory; he regretted the laborious leisure of his villas, *Tusculanenses dies;* and he had willingly let the army depart, in which he was treated as a prophet of misfortune.[3]

COIN OF THESSALY.[2]

Scipio, who had been sent by Pompey into Asia to obtain sol-

[1] [This was the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else. — *Ed.*]

[2] Minerva fighting, the name of the people, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and of two magistrates, ΛΑΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ.

[3] *Ad Fam.* vi. 6, ix. 6 and 9, vii. 3; *Ad Att.* xi. 3, 4, 6, etc.

diers and money, had lost much time in Syria and Asia Minor, living luxuriously in those rich provinces, which, if we may believe Caesar,[1] had then to suffer ills almost as great as those of Sylla's time. A formal order from Pompey at length obliged him to quit his headquarters at Pergamus; but he still marched slowly. His appearance during the fights before Dyrrachium might have changed into a disaster the check inflicted on the consular army. Caesar had time to send Cassius Longinus with one legion into Thessaly to close the vale of Tempe, and Domitius Calvinus with two other legions into Macedon, where he occupied in force the valley of the Haliacmon; thence he kept watch over the great military road, the Via Egnatia, by which Scipio was advancing from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium. The Pompeian general marched straight towards Calvinus, but on arriving in his neighborhood he suddenly turned southwards, leaving his baggage behind the Caesarians in a fortified camp guarded by eight cohorts, and himself marched upon Cassius. The latter, alarmed by the appearance in his rear of the Thracian horsemen of King Cotys, who seemed to have crossed Olympus by footpaths, fell back from Tempe upon the heights of the Pindus. Scipio was thus free to enter Thessaly when it suited him; but by so doing he risked giving up his line of supplies and retreat to the Caesarians in Macedon. He remained in that province and in the vale of Tempe till Calvinus had struck his camp to rejoin Caesar near the source of the Peneus.[2]

Pompey, on his side, had effected a junction with his father-in-law's legions near Larissa. He was desirous of prolonging the war in order to exhaust his foe; but the young nobles who surrounded him thought the campaign very long, and so much circumspection made them suspicious. They complained that he protracted an affair which might be easily settled, for the purpose of gratifying his ambition for command, and having consular and praetorian senators among the number of his followers. "Domitius Ahenobarbus," says Plutarch, "continually calling him Agamemnon, and King of kings, excited jealousy against him; and Favonius,

[1] Certain details given by Caesar, as the arrangements made for stealing the treasure of Ephesus (*Bell. civ.* iii. 3), which were stopped by a letter from Pompey, are improbable. The books *De Bell. civ.* are not equal in authority to those *De Bell. Gall.*, and there is even some doubt as to the true author of the work.

[2] See in vol ii. the map on p. 163.

by his unseasonable raillery, did him no less injury than those who openly attacked him, as when he cried out, 'Good friends, you must not expect to gather any figs in Tusculum this year!'" Their impatience was increased by the certainty of an easy victory. Already there began to be disputes about offices, as though the Pompeians were at Rome on the eve of the comitia; and some sent to secure the most conspicuous houses adjacent to the Forum, whence they could best solicit votes. The consuls were designated for the following years, and the spoils of the Caesarians divided. They would begin with a general proscription, judicially carried out, as befitted men who were fighting in defence of the laws: they had even drawn up the form of sentence. They were less agreed upon the division of the booty. Fannius wanted the estates of Atticus; Lentulus, those of Hortensius and Caesar's gardens. The wisest became blind. Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther openly quarrelled as to which should succeed Caesar in the pontificate. The chances were even among the three candidates; for, if Lentulus had his age and services in his favor, Domitius enjoyed a great influence, and Scipio was Pompey's father-in-law. "In a word," says he who dispelled these vain hopes, "nothing was thought of but honors, or profit, or vengeance; nor did they consider by what methods they were to conquer, but what advantage they should make of victory."

Urged on by the clamor of these nobles, whom he was unable to reduce to obedience, Pompey decided upon giving battle near Pharsalia, in the same place where, a hundred and fifty years before, Rome had conquered Greece and all the Hellenic East (Cynoscephalae). His troops had been encamped for some days on the hills to the east of Pharsalia, while those of Caesar lay in the plain between that city and metropolis (see plan, p. 459). Several skirmishes had taken place, and Caesar had vainly offered battle. Pompey retained his position on the higher ground; and Caesar, despairing of drawing his opponent into an engagement on equal terms, made his plan to break camp and move away, in the hope of finding a better supply of provisions elsewhere; also with the idea that, in the frequent marches both armies would thus make, he might come upon an advantageous position for fighting; and, lastly, with the certainty that he should greatly harass Pompey's army, which was sure to follow

him, by the continued fatigues they would thus be forced to endure. In the early morning, therefore, of the day on which the battle was fought, the order for marching had been given and the tents struck, when Caesar perceived that Pompey's army had quitted their intrenchments, and advanced out into the plain. Thereupon, joyfully making known to his soldiers that the day had at last come when they were to fight, not with hunger and famine, but with men, he ordered the red colors, the signal of battle, to be set up before his tent, and his army eagerly fell into rank.

HOPE.[1]

Pompey's force consisted of forty-seven thousand foot and seven thousand horse. It was drawn up with the right wing resting upon the little river Enipeus, whose steep banks completely protected it on that side, and the cavalry, with the bands of slingers and bowmen, thrown out into the plain at the left. He himself was in command at the right, Metellus Scipio in the centre, and Domitius at the left. Caesar, opposite to him, adopted a corresponding arrangement, protecting his left wing by the river, and placing his cavalry at the right. His entire army consisted only of twenty-two thousand legionaries, and in cavalry he was numerically very feeble, having but a thousand horse. Observing the great number of the enemy's cavalry and their evident intention to outflank his own, he ordered six cohorts (three

[1] Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3049. The head is surmounted by a flower with a broad calyx. The left hand, which should hold another flower, as in the engraving on p. 316 in vol. i., is broken. According to M. Chabouillet, the gesture of raising the skirt of the tunica was consecrated to the images of Hope.

thousand men) to place themselves in reserve behind his right wing, carefully concealing from the enemy this movement. The legionaries, drawn up in the usual order, began the battle, advancing at a run upon Pompey's lines. The latter had been ordered to hold their ground and await the attack, in the idea that the Caesarian troops, having twice as far to go as usual, would be weary and breathless when they came up with their foe. But the veterans, by their good discipline and experience, defeated Pompey's expectations; for, seeing that the enemy did not advance to meet them, they halted half-way to recover their breath, then marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and attacked with the sword.

Meantime Pompey's cavalry advanced to the attack, compelled Caesar's horse to give way, and began to spread out their ranks to surround and turn his right wing. But an unexpected foe appeared to them. The six cohorts, now ordered to advance, and, instead of throwing their javelins, to use them as hand-spears and specially to thrust at the enemy's faces, made so fierce an attack that they at once turned the fortune of the day. The Pompeian cavalry retreated at full gallop, and never stopped till they had taken shelter among the hills. The archers and slingers of the left wing were quickly cut to pieces; and the six cohorts, continuing their

victorious advance, turned the enemy's left, and began to charge the Pompeian lines in the rear. Upon this Caesar brought forward his main line of reserves, which had not been engaged until now; and Pompey's infantry, attacked in front by fresh troops and in the rear by the victorious cohorts, made no further resistance, but gave way in the utmost disorder, and fled to their camp. Pompey had quitted the battlefield when he saw his cavalry repulsed, and had retired despairing into his tent. Presently the sounds of battle came nearer: it was Caesar leading his victorious soldiers to the attack of the intrenchments. "What!" cried the unhappy general, "into my very camp!" He threw off his general's scarf, sprang upon a horse, and escaped by the Porta Decumana. The camp was bravely defended for some time by the troops left in charge of it; but the demoralized fugitives from the battlefield thought of nothing but retreat. At last all withdrew, taking refuge in the hills behind their intrenchments. "On entering Pompey's camp," says Caesar, "we found tables ready covered, sideboards loaded with plate, and tents adorned with branches of myrtle: that of Lentulus, with some others, was shaded with ivy. Everything gave proof of the highest luxury and an assured expectation of victory; whence it was easy to see that they little dreamed of the issue of that day, since, intent only on voluptuous refinements, they pretended, with troops immersed in luxury, to oppose Caesar's army accustomed to fatigue, and inured to the want of necessaries" (9th of August–6th of June, 48).

In spite of Caesar's efforts to stop the slaughter, fifteen thousand six hundred men were slain, but only one leader: Domitius perished in his flight.[1] "They would have it so," said he as he passed over this field of slaughter. "After all I have done for the Republic, I should have been condemned as a criminal, had I not appealed to my army."[2] His clemency did not fail. As soon as success was

[1] Caesar gives the number of Pompeians slain as fifteen thousand; Asinius Pollio only reckoned six thousand; but doubtless he omitted the allies, "who were not counted," says Appian (ii. 82). The same historian gives ten senators and forty knights among the Pompeian dead.

[2] Words gathered by Asinius Pollio, who was present at the battle, and reported by Suetonius. Dion asserts (xli. 62) that he caused to be put to death those who, having once taken up arms and been pardoned by him, were found among the captives, but that he granted each of his friends the pardon of one Pompeian.

assured, he forbade the slaughter of a single citizen, and pardoned all captives who implored his pity. Even those who had already made proof of it only required an intercessor to be again pardoned. In Pompey's tent he found correspondence which might have yielded him very useful revelations; but he burnt the letters unread. History regrets that he was not more curious. The peoples and princes who had sided with his rival trembled; but he re-assured them. The Athenians, little fitted for these combats of giants, had lent their feeble aid to Pompey, instead of accepting the neutrality offered them by both parties. Caesar was anxious to win over the city, "which knew how to talk;" and, when her deputies appeared as suppliants before him, he contented himself with saying, "How many times already has the fame of your fathers saved you!"

Without giving his troops time to pillage the riches scattered through the Pompeian camp, Caesar led them onwards in pursuit of the enemy, the last remnants of whom he surrounded upon a hill. Twenty-four thousand men were taken prisoners. On the morrow the whole army decreed the prize of valor to Caesar, to the tenth legion, and a centurion. At the moment of giving the signal for battle, Caesar had recognized this veteran, and called out to him by name, saying, "What hopes, Caius Crastinus, and what ground for encouragement?" — "We shall win with glory, Caesar," he had replied in a loud voice, "and to-day you will praise me, living or dead." With these words he had advanced; and a hundred and twenty men of the cohort had dashed forward with him, breaking through the ranks with much slaughter of the enemy, until at last he had fallen. Caesar had his corpse sought out, and erected a special tomb for him beside the trench where the other dead were laid.

V. — Death of Pompey.

Pompey's mistake had been great in separating himself from his fleet, and accepting battle in the midst of the Greek mainland: still another mistake was in not securing a place of refuge in

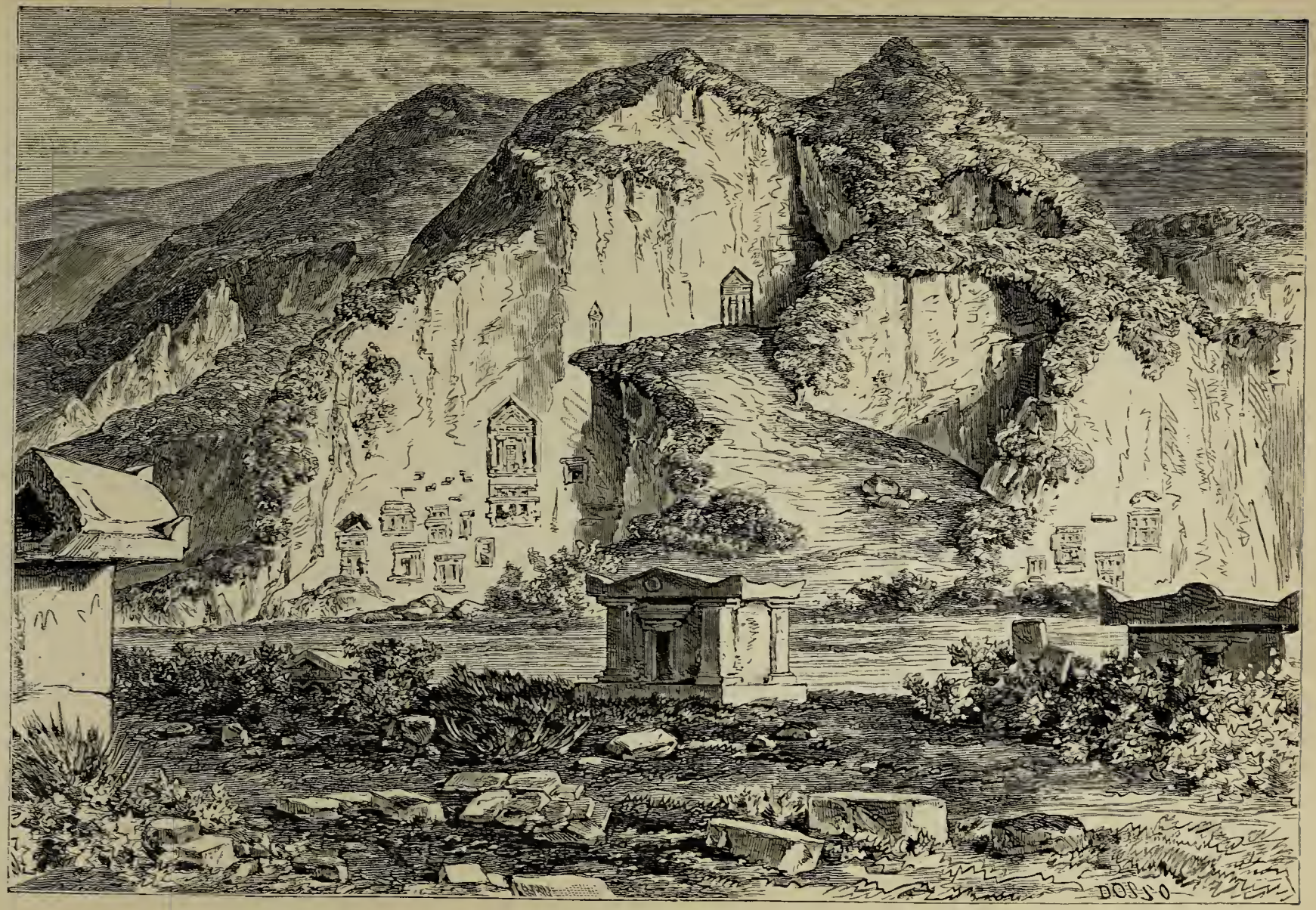
case of defeat.[1] But such was his confidence that he had not appointed any rallying-place; so that all had dispersed hap-hazard, and of all that powerful army there remained only the dead and the suppliants. The leader himself, wholly occupied in saving his own life, fled towards the vale of Tempe, and the two Lentuli who accompanied him saw the conqueror of Mithridates, of the pirates and of Sertorius, driven by thirst, drink the water of the river from the hollow of his hand like a mountain shepherd. Having reached the seacoast, he passed the night in a fisherman's hut, and in the morning was taken up by a merchant-vessel which

MERCHANT-VESSEL (ON THE TOMB OF A MERCHANT AT POMPEII).

had cast anchor at the mouth of the Peneus. He had been joined by Spinther, Lentulus, Favonius, the Galatian Dejotarus, and a few others; and the master of the vessel, recognizing the distinguished fugitive, agreed to take him wherever he desired to go. They crossed over at once to Lesbos, where Pompey took on board his wife Cornelia; then he drew southward by the sea of the Sporades, "through which he had been wont to sail with five hundred galleys."[2] The report of his defeat had preceded him; and in these islands, as well as in this province of Asia, which he had thought so devoted to his cause, no one showed any readiness to give him

[1] [There must have been ample time to bring his fleet round Greece, and anchor it near Pharsalia. — *Ed.*]

[2] Plutarch (*Pomp.* 74) puts these words in the mouth of Cornelia.



TELMESSUS (MACRI): TOMBS HEWN IN THE ROCK (TEXIER, DESCR. DE L'ASIE MIN., VOL. III. PL. 5).

aid: even at Rhodes he dared stop only for a very short time. On the coasts of Caria and Lycia, the scene of his former exploits, there were rich cities — Aphrodisias, Telmessus, Patara — which gave him a little money: Cilicia furnished him with ships and a few soldiers. But whither should he go? It is said he thought of fleeing to the Parthians; but Antioch, which had declared for Caesar, having closed the desert road against him, he decided on seeking

STATUE, SAID TO BE OF CLEOPATRA, FROM THE VATICAN[1] (MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO).

an asylum in Egypt. He had no other course open to him.[2] The reigning king, whose father, Ptolemy Auletes, had been under obligations to him, was his ally; sixty Egyptian vessels had joined the senatorial fleet in the Adriatic, and, after the expedition of Gabinius, there had remained in Egypt a few thousand Pompeian soldiers who had not yet forgotten their old general; finally, the country was easy to defend, and he could thence communicate with

[1] This statue, which has often been taken for a Cleopatra, on account of the serpent's-head bracelet worn on the upper part of the arm, is probably an Ariadne represented sleeping. In any case, it cannot be considered the portrait of Cleopatra.

[2] He had already solicited the alliance of the Parthians; but his ambassador had been cast into prison by them (Dion, xlii. 2).

the Parthians if it were necessary, and certainly with Varus and Juba, who were masters of Numidia and Roman Africa.

He therefore set sail for Egypt, and, hearing that Ptolemy was at Pelusium, directed his course that way, followed by about two thousand men. According to the will of the late king, Cleopatra was to marry her brother, Ptolemy Dionysus, two years younger than herself,[1] and reign conjointly with him under the tutelage of the Senate. But at the end of three years the young queen had been driven out by the general Achillas and the king's tutor Theodotus. She had withdrawn into Syria; and Ptolemy had collected an army at Pelusium to stop the expedition his sister was preparing against him. When the messenger of the vanquished Pompey appeared, Achillas and Pothinus, the regent of the kingdom, were of opinion that he should be received with honor; while Theodotus rejected the idea of uniting the destinies of the king and country with the lot of a fugitive and thus incurring Caesar's displeasure, and recommended that Pompey should be seized and put to death. His advice prevailed; and a boat was sent to the vessel under pretence of bringing the general to the king.

COIN OF PELUSIUM.[2]

"Achillas, therefore, taking with him as his accomplice one Septimius, a man that had formerly held a command under Pompey, and Salvius, another centurion, with three or four attendants, made up towards Pompey's galley. In the mean time all the chiefest of those who accompanied Pompey in this voyage were come into his ship to learn the event of their embassy. But when they saw the manner of their reception, — that in appearance it was neither princely nor honorable, nor in any way answerable to their expectation (for there came but a few men in a fisherman's boat to meet them), — they began to suspect the meanness of their entertainment, and gave warning to Pompey that he should row back to his galley whilst he was out of their reach, and make for the sea. By this time the Egyptian boat drew near; and Septimius, standing up, first saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue, by the title of Imperator. Then

[1] She was born towards the close of 69 B.C., and was consequently nearly twenty-one on Caesar's arrival.

[2] Head of Isis, surrounded by the name of the city, ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΑ. Bronze, of the time of Hadrian.

Achillas, saluting him in the Greek language, desired him to come aboard his vessel, telling him that the sea was very shallow towards the shore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid striking upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's galleys getting their men on board, and all the shore covered with soldiers; so that, even if they changed their minds, it seemed impossible for them to escape, and, besides, their distrust would have given the assassins a pretence for their cruelty. Pompey, therefore, taking his leave of Cornelia, who was already lamenting his death before it came, bade two centurions, with Philip (one of his freedmen) and a slave called Scythes, go on board the boat before him. And as some of the crew, with Achillas, were reaching out their hands to help him, he turned about towards his wife and son, and repeated the iambics of Sophocles: —

> 'He who repairs to a tyrant becomes a slave,
> Though he set out a freeman.'

These were the last words he spoke to his friends; and so he went aboard, observing presently, that, notwithstanding there was a considerable distance betwixt his galley and the shore, yet none of the company addressed any words of friendliness or welcome to him all the way. He looked earnestly upon Septimius, and said, 'I am not mistaken surely in believing you to have been formerly my fellow-soldier.' But he only nodded with his head, making no reply at all, nor showing any other courtesy. Since, therefore, they all continued silent, Pompey took a little book in his hand in which was written out an address in Greek which he intended to make to King Ptolemy, and began to read it. When they drew near to the shore, Cornelia, together with the rest of his friends in the galley, was very impatient to see the event, and began to take courage at last, when

PTOLEMY AULETES (FROM A COIN).[1]

[1] Clarac, *Icon.* Ptolemy Auletes has on his coins the laurel-wreath, which he scarcely deserved.

she saw several of the royal escort coming to meet him, apparently to give him a more honorable reception. But in the mean time, as Pompey took Philip by the hand to rise up more easily, Septimius first stabbed him from behind with his sword, and, after him, likewise Salvius and Achillas drew out their swords. He, therefore, taking up his toga with both hands, drew it over his face, and neither saying nor doing anything unworthy of himself, only groaning a little, endured all the wounds they gave him. And so ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, on the very day following his birthday.

"Cornelia, with her company from the galley, seeing him murdered, gave such a cry that it was heard to the shore, and, weighing anchor with all speed, they hoisted sail and fled. A strong breeze from the shore assisted their flight into the open sea; so that the Egyptians, though desirous to overtake them, desisted from the pursuit. But they cut off Pompey's head, and threw the rest of his body overboard, leaving it naked upon the shore, to be viewed by any that had the curiosity to see so sad a spectacle. Philip stayed by, and watched till they had glutted their eyes in viewing it, and then washing it in sea-water, having nothing else, he wrapped it in a shirt of his own for a winding-sheet. Then, seeking up and down about the sands, at last he found some rotten planks of a little fisher-boat, — not much, but yet enough to make up a funeral-pile for a naked body, and that not quite entire. As Philip was busy in gathering and putting these old planks together, an old Roman citizen, who in his youth had served in the wars under Pompey, came up to him, and demanded who he was that was preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great. And, Philip making answer that he was his freedman, 'Nay then,' said he, 'you shall not have this honor alone. Let even me too, I pray you, have my share in such a pious office, that I may not altogether repent me of this pilgrimage in a strange land, but, in compensation of many misfortunes, may obtain this happiness at last, — even with mine own

POMPEY.[1]

[1] *Trésor de Numism.*, pl. 1, No. 3.

hands to touch the body of Pompey, and do the last duties to the greatest general among the Romans.' And in this manner were the obsequies of Pompey performed.

"The next day Lucius Lentulus, not knowing what had passed, came sailing from Cyprus along the shore of that coast, and seeing a funeral-pile, and Philip standing by, exclaimed before he was yet seen by any one, 'Who is this that has found his end here?' adding after a short pause, with a sigh, 'Possibly even thou, Pompeius Magnus!' And so, going ashore, he was presently apprehended and slain. This was the end of Pompey." [1]

History is like Caesar, who wept over this fate of his rival. But while we grant that Pompey's services, the brilliancy of his military life, and the dignity of his private life merit praise, we must nevertheless condemn the sterile ambition and perpetual indecisions of him who desired power, only that "he might display his triumphal robe." His talents, which after all were but ordinary, do not give him the right to be called a statesman. This title belongs only to him who well understands the needs of his time, and hence the approaching future, and, recognizing what is to come, goes resolutely forward to meet it. Pompey, who so often passed from Senate to people, and from people to Senate, had never any motive save the interests of his own ambition. From his history springs a political moral: the fugitive from Pharsalia was the deserter from all parties.

[1] Plut., *Pomp.* Hadrian raised a tomb to him a hundred and sixty years afterward (Spart., *Hadrian.* 7).

[1] Engraved gem in the Berlin Museum (after Bernhard Graser, *Op. cit.*).

VESSEL, WITH ENSIGN HOISTED.[1]

CHAPTER LVII.

THE CIVIL WAR AND DICTATORSHIP OF CAESAR, FROM THE DEATH OF POMPEY TO THAT OF CATO (48-46 B.C.).

I. — Alexandrian War (October, 48, to June, 47). Expedition against Pharnaces.

CAESAR knew how to complete his victories. Leaving Cornificius in Illyria to keep watch over Cato and the Pompeian fleet, and Calenus in Greece to reduce the nations there, he set out with two legions, which in all scarcely formed a body of thirty-two hundred foot and eight hundred horse, and followed Pompey's track, not to leave him time to gather a new army. According to a very improbable story, as Caesar was crossing the Hellespont in a boat, he met Cassius at the head of ten Pompeian galleys, and ordered him to surrender. Cassius, losing his presence of mind, submitted, without ever thinking that it was in his power to finish the war at one stroke.[1] It is more certain that Asia, which had been fearfully oppressed by Scipio, heard with joy of the new master given her by destiny. The victor relieved the province of a third of the taxes, allowed her to raise the tribute herself,[2] and made a change in the system of it, substituting for the disastrous law of tithes a fixed payment;[3] so that there remained for the publican only the collecting of some indirect taxes of little importance. He reckoned upon finding and levying in Egypt the money which he was unwilling to demand of exhausted Asia.

A few days after the death of Pompey, Caesar arrived before Alexandria with thirty-five vessels and four thousand men. When

[1] This is the account given by Appian and Plutarch. That of Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 11) is more credible. Cassius, he says, waited for Caesar at the mouth of the Cydnus in order to kill him, and the latter only escaped by chance.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4.

[3] Dion, xlii. 6. Perhaps he made the same change in Sicily.

Theodotus presented to him his rival's head, he turned away his eyes in horror, and ordered the sad remains to be buried in a shrine of Nemesis, which he built at the city gates. The king's ministers were angry at the honors paid to their victim, and, seeing Caesar so poorly attended, they forgot that they had before them the master of the world. The Egyptian soldiers were secretly encouraged to cry out, when the lictors passed, that their presence was an outrage upon the Egyptian king. Every day disturbances took place, in which some legionaries were slain. When the consul, to pay his troops, claimed the arrears of an old debt of Ptolemy Auletes, amounting to ten million sesterces,[1] Pothinus disdainfully replied, that Caesar still had very great matters on his hands; that it would be better to start as quickly as possible to terminate them; and that, on his return, he would certainly receive, with the king's thanks, all the money which was due to him. This language was too clear. But Caesar neither could nor would depart. The ancients said that from November to

NEMESIS, RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.[2]

[1] See p. 207.

[2] A statue in the Louvre. The right arm thus bent is the characteristic attitude of this goddess, because it represented a cubit, a measure which was taken allegorically to measure punishment or recompense. The horn of plenty symbolizes the blessings which the goddess assured to the just. The head is ancient, but set on later, as also the horn of plenty. (Clarac, *Descript. des Antiq.* No. 318.)

March the seas were closed.[1] The periodical north winds, which blow with violence in the Archipelago, interrupted navigation between Egypt and Greece, and condemned the conqueror of Pompey to remain at Alexandria.[2] He had the interests of Rome too much at heart not to make use of his enforced stay to regulate Egyptian affairs in the interests of the Republic; and the interests

PLAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

of the Republic required that Pompey's assassins, who took such a high hand with Caesar, should cease to be masters of that wealthy kingdom. He invited Cleopatra to come to him. "She took a

[1] Vegetius, v. 9: *maria clauduntur.*

[2] *Ipse enim necessario etesiis tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria sunt adversissimi venti* (*De Bell. civ.* iii. 107). The sailors still say, "In the Mediterranean there are only three good harbors, June, July, and August." See p. 447, how Pompey at Dyrrachium counted on the winter, and p. 487, how Cato was obliged to make his fleet winter at the same season at Barca. Vegetius (v. 9) says that navigation was closed from the 16th of November to the 21st of March. At Venice, even in the sixteenth century, return voyages from the coast of Syria and of Alexandria were forbidden to the Venetian vessels from the 15th of November to the 20th of January, "in order that they may escape the perils of an imminent shipwreck in the 'time of the months of the raw winter,' on a penalty of five hundred ducats for the captains, and of a thousand for the shareholders or proprietors of the vessel" (Law of the 8th of June, 1569, Jal, *Nautical Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 1015). Admiral Jurien de la Gravière speaks "of the incapacity of the new navy to keep the sea in winter." If our ironclads must go into harbor in the bad season, *a fortiori* was it a necessity for the galleys of the ancients.

small boat, and one only of her confidants, Apollodorus the Sicilian, along with her, and in the dusk of the evening landed near the palace. She was at a loss how to get in undiscovered, till she thought of putting herself into a great rug or bed-covering, and lying at length, while Apollodorus tied it up with a strap, and carried it on his back through the gates into Caesar's apartments. Caesar was at first captivated by this proof of Cleopatra's bold wit, and was afterwards so overcome by the charm of her society that he made a reconciliation between her and her brother, on condition that she should rule as his colleague in the kingdom." [1] Plutarch sees in this only an affair of gallantry: I see also in it, and more especially, a political transaction. The ministers quickly saw that their ruin was the pledge of this reconciliation. With a view of breaking it off, they persuaded the young Ptolemy to escape from his palace, and call the people to his aid. The Romans quickly seized the fugitive prince; but this attempted escape excited a disturbance in the town, which Caesar endeavored to pacify by reading to the people the will of the late king, Auletes, and by declaring that, in his position of guardian, he ordained that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign together.[2] The insurrection was for the moment suppressed. Pothinus even appeared to resign himself; but he secretly recalled to Alexandria Achillas, who was at Pelusium, in command of twenty thousand fairly good troops, thanks to the Roman officers whom Gabinius had left behind in Egypt. Caesar compelled Ptolemy to send them word to remain at Pelusium: in answer they put the envoys to death. Thus four thousand Romans were obliged to confront a well-drilled army of twenty thousand men and an angry

PTOLEMY DIONYSUS.[3]

[1] Plut., *Caesar*, 54, 55.

[2] Dion, xlii. 35. Dion adds that Caesar promised to give Cyprus to two other children of Ptolemy, — a promise which was not very binding on him.

[3] This Ptolemy wears the ivy-wreath, the attribute of Bacchus, whom the Greeks more often called Dionysus. On other coins of this prince the god's thyrsus is seen.

nation three hundred thousand strong. Caesar intrenched himself in the Brucheium quarter, on the north of the Via Canopica, in the royal palace and the adjacent theatre. Here he held the king and his minister prisoners, closing all the approaches in such a manner as to make of that collection of solid buildings a vast fortress, which Achillas soon abandoned the attempt to take by storm. In the chief harbor lay the Egyptian war-fleet; these vessels Caesar set on fire and destroyed. The flames reached the arsenal and other adjacent buildings, and destroyed the famous library of the Ptolemies, which is said to have contained four hundred thousand volumes.

From the interior of the palace, Pothinus kept up active communication with the besiegers. Caesar caused him to be put to death, and then confined Ptolemy more closely. The king's youngest sister, Arsinoë, with her confidant and adviser, the eunuch Ganymede, had succeeded in making her escape, and, assuming the title of queen, placed herself at the head of the insurrection. Ganymede, who was an active and intelligent man, took advantage, on his own behalf, of the favor of the soldiers. He caused the murder of Achillas, took his place, and thought he had found an infallible means of destroying the Roman army by cutting the aqueducts which supplied their quarter with water, and by sending sea-water into their cisterns with the aid of machines. But they dug wells,[1] and patiently waited for the arrival of the aid which Caesar had ordered from the governor of Asia, — Domitius Calvinus.

The latter was an able man, firm and just, who, though he had been appointed to the post after Pharsalia, had already re-organized everything. He was able to send Caesar one legion by land and another by sea, the latter of which was driven by the winds to the west of Alexandria. Caesar went with some vessels in search of the second, and on his return defeated Ganymede, who barred his way. The eunuch repaired his galleys, built fresh ones, and persisted in trying to close the sea against the Romans, and starve them out. In front of the town stretched the island of Pharos, connected with the shore by a mole. Caesar attacked it, and suc-

[1] These wells are found all along the coast as far as the isle of Pharos.

ceeded in gaining possession of it. But the Alexandrians bravely continued their efforts to destroy the fleet, and to regain the fort. Many naval engagements took place, and one day Caesar was so hard pressed that he only escaped by throwing himself into the sea, and swimming to a ship that lay at some distance.[1]

COIN OF PTOLEMY XII.[2]

At length, however, he grew alarmed about this struggle, which was costing much precious time, and involved useless risks. He gave the Alexandrians back their king, in hopes of arriving at an arrangement, or of sowing dissension among his enemies. This concession, which was taken as a sign of weakness, only gave them fresh vigor, and they also stopped a convoy coming from Cilicia. Fortunately, Mithridates the Pergamean (believed to be a son of the great Mithridates), who had been sent in the beginning of the war to raise troops in Syria, assembled in that province an army which was swelled on the way by a great number of Jews; for that nation saw in the conqueror of Pompey the executor of Jehovah's decrees against the man who had violated the Holy of Holies.[3] Mithridates reached Pelusium at the end of January, 47. The town, though strong and well guarded, was carried by an impetuous attack.

Egypt is considered as defended on all sides by strong barriers, says the author of the "Alexandrian War," — towards the sea, by the Pharos, and towards Syria by Pelusium, which are accounted the two keys of the kingdom. Of these, Caesar held one; and Mithridates having taken the other, which secured his communications, could therefore march fearlessly into the country. He ascended the east bank of the Pelusiac branch, and in a sharp engagement, the chief honor of which fell to Antipater, Herod's father, he drove into the river an Egyptian army which attempted to stop him. This success facilitated the passage of the Nile, which he effected between the upper point of the Delta and Memphis. Many Jews dwelt in

[1] Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 150) says that, in order to avoid being observed by those in pursuit, he swam under water, only rising to the surface to take breath.

[2] Ptolemy XII., or Dionysus, as Bacchus. M. Bompois has recently maintained that this coin represents Ptolemy IV. On the reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt.

[3] See p. 146.

that town. Letters from the high priest Hyrcanus had led them to join Caesar's party; and they furnished Mithridates with auxiliaries, provisions, and information. Such was the number of the circumcised in this army, that the place where the decisive battle took place retained the name of the Jews' Camp.[1]

On hearing of the approach of the army of relief, Caesar had issued from his Alexandrian fortress, and turning westward around the end of Lake Marea, whilst Ptolemy with his fleet ascended the Canopic branch, he had forestalled the Egyptians, though his route was the longer one, and effected a junction with Mithridates. The king placed his camp on a hill in the Libyan chain, which terminates at the Nile near Chom-Cherik, at the spot where, five centuries before, Amasis had won Egypt from Apries, and where, seven centuries later, Amrou won it from the Alexandrians. A decisive battle ensued, in which the Egyptians were defeated. In the fray the king was drowned, and a rich booty rewarded the legionaries for their long patience. Egypt accepted Cleopatra as queen, and she married the last of her brothers, Ptolemy XIII., whilst her sister Arsinoë was sent captive to Rome.[2]

Having come out victoriously from this severe trial, Caesar remained two or three months longer in Egypt. He is blamed for this stay. Cleopatra, it is said, bewitched him with all the seductions of wit and beauty: indolent and splendid like a daughter of the East, intense and passionate like a child of Ionia, the siren detained the hero. If Caesar loved pleasure, he loved still more his fame and his fortune, which so ill-timed a passion would have compromised.[3] After passing eleven years in the tent, he doubtless had a right to a few days' repose; but the time for repose had not yet come, while his foes were collecting a powerful army in Africa, and defeating the Caesarians in Illyria, while a new Mithridates was appearing in Asia, disturbances breaking out in Spain, and revolutionary passions at Rome and in Italy. In the case of such a man, things should be looked at on their serious side: that he did not quit Egypt sooner was due, first to the fact that

[1] Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 14.

[2] An inscription (*C. I. L.*, i. p. 390) allows us to fix Caesar's return to Alexandria, after the victory of the Nile, on the 27th of March, 47 B.C.: . . . *Caesar Alexandriam recepit.*

[3] Caesar was then fifty-five.

TERRA-COTTA FRAGMENTS FOUND AT TARSUS. AND NOW IN THE LOUVRE.

it was difficult to get away from there during the winter; and, secondly, that Roman interests of great importance detained him. Coming into the country with the design of bringing the war to a close by the capture of Pompey, he had found a nation in revolt against the guardianship of Rome. Every day he had passed on Egyptian soil had been a day of combat for him; and as public opinion, even in those times, was a great force, he could not have been willing to quit Egypt as a fugitive. After the victory it was necessary still to remain, in order to impose upon turbulent Alexandria the acceptance of its condition as a subject city, to insure the safety of the two legions he left there, strengthen the authority of the rulers he had just given it, and appease the popular resentment by paying homage to the gods of the country. It certainly was not through mere complaisance towards Cleopatra that he had resolved upon this solution of the Egyptian question.[2] To make this rich country into a province would have been to expose to dangerous temptations the proconsul who should be sent thither. Augustus and the emperors for two centuries thought as Caesar did on this subject.[4]

CLEOPATRA AND CAESAR HONORING THE GODS OF EGYPT.[1]

PHARNACES II., KING OF PONTUS.[3]

[1] Bas-relief, from the Temple of Denderah, representing Cleopatra and Caesar making offerings to Hathor. (After Rosellini, *Mon. stor.* ii. 406.)

[2] Shortly after Caesar's departure, Cleopatra was delivered of Caesarion, and this birth was, according to custom, represented on a temple, that of Hermontis, near Thebes (cf. Champollion, *Monum.* pl. 145–148, and Maspero, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1878). Caesar never paid any heed to this child, and did not mention him in his will.

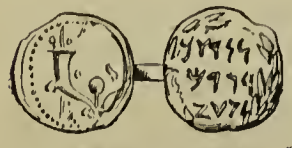
[3] From a gold coin of that prince (Clarac, *Icon.*, pl. 1031, No. 2984).

[4] . . . *Veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset* (Livy, *Epit.* cxii.). The commander of the troops which he left in Egypt,

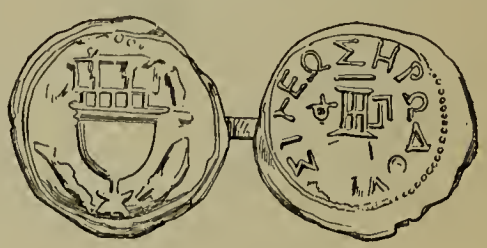
It was better to have native princes, who would be useful without ever being dangerous. But it was needful to accustom the people to obey these kings imposed by a foreign power; and this necessary protectorate required the dictator to take and hold the reins of government for some time with his strong hand.

Urgent despatches summoned Caesar to Rome; but Asia Minor was threatened by the King of the Bosphorus. Between private interests and those of the Republic he did not hesitate. Instead of setting sail for Italy, he resolved to stop the advance of Pharnaces, even should he be obliged to go, in search of the offending prince, into the very heart of the latter's kingdom.

This son of Mithridates, whom Pompey had made king of the Bosphorus, had taken advantage of the Civil war to regain Pontus, and drive out Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. Caesar's lieutenant in Asia, Calvinus, had been defeated in endeavoring to defend these two princes; and Pharnaces, having gained possession of the greater part of his father's former kingdom, there perpetrated fearful cruelties, imprisoning the publicans, and slaying or mutilating the Romans who traded in those regions. Caesar passed rapidly through Palestine and Syria. In Judaea the weak Hyrcanus II., the last of the Maccabees, reigned nominally, not, however, as king but as high priest, while actually the power was in the hands of his minister, the Idumaean Antipater. Caesar recognized the former as the political and religious head of his nation, and restored to him the title of king; but he left the real power to the latter, whom he made a Roman citizen, and procurator of Judaea. Of the two sons of Antipater, Phasaël, the elder, obtained the government of Jerusalem; the second, Herod, that of Galilee. These judaizing Edomites founded their fortunes on the ruins of the Maccabaean royalty, and



COIN OF HYRCANUS II.[1]



COIN OF HEROD.[2]

the son of one of his freedmen, was of too lowly a condition not to be faithful (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76).

[1] A horn of plenty. On the reverse a Samaritan inscription. Bronze coin of Hyrcanus II.

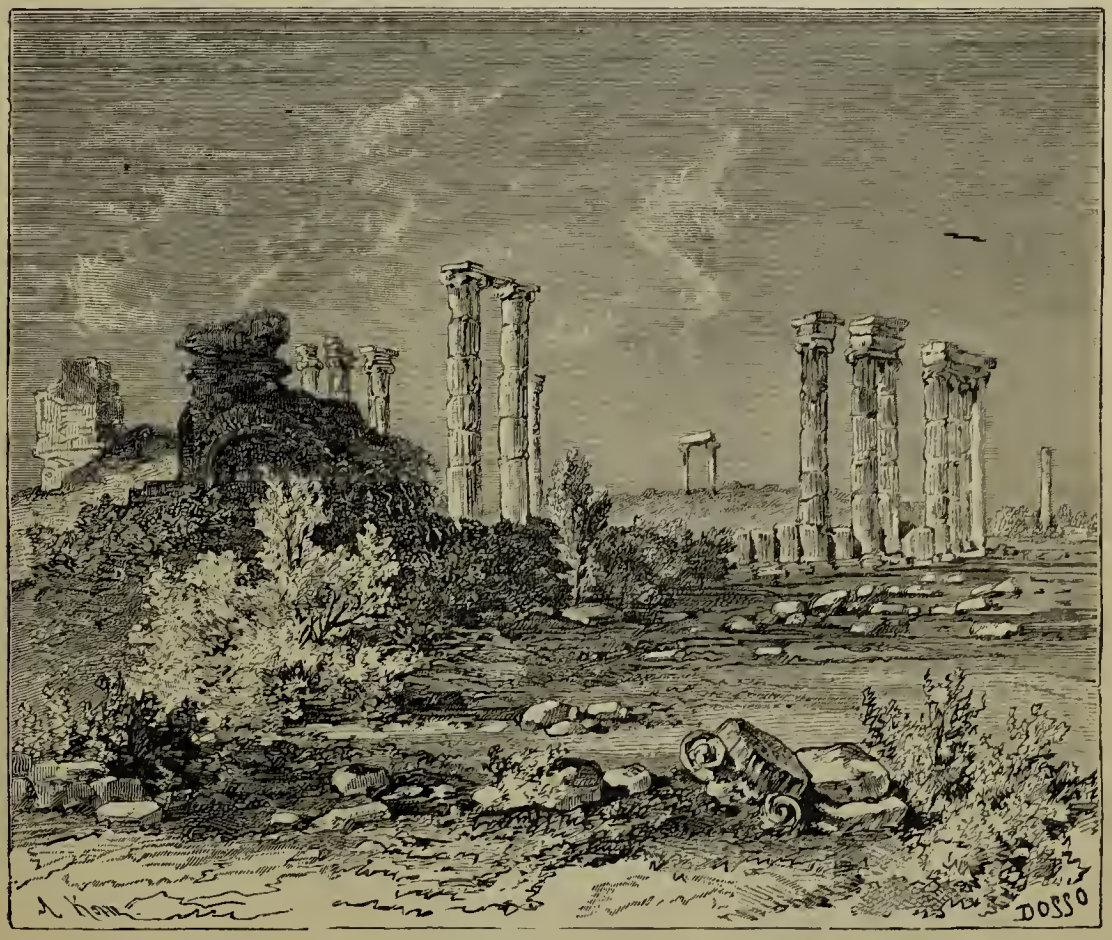
[2] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ (Herod, king); an altar and two Samaritan characters. On the reverse a vase. Bronze coin of Herod the Great.

cemented them by the friendship of Caesar, which the first emperors continued.

Antioch had been well treated by Pompey: when he made Syria a Roman province, he had granted that town autonomy. But the inhabitants of the pleasure-loving city bore gratitude lightly: on the news of the disaster of Pharsalia they had gone over to the stronger side. Caesar recompensed them for this, and renewed in their favor the decree guaranteeing their independence; then

COIN OF TARSUS.[1]

COIN OF TARSUS.[1]



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF APHRODISIAS.[2]

he sailed for Cilicia, where he had already convoked at Tarsus an assembly of deputies from that State and from the neighboring countries. Here he took cognizance of all disputes, rewarded and

[1] ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ; head surmounted by turret, no doubt a personification of the town. On the reverse Hercules strangling the lion. Silver coin of Tarsus.

[2] Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.* vol. iii. p. 150.

punished, bestowing much in the way of privileges, demanding little except money, which these wealthy provinces were well able to provide. We still have a decree recording his favors to Aphrodisias of Caria, which he declared free and exempt from taxation. Many cities participated in these bounties, which burdened the future, but served the present, because they were bought for ready money.[1] Order having been promptly restored in these disturbed countries, he rapidly crossed Cappadocia, halted two days at Mazaca, its capital, where he re-established Ariobarzanes; and at Comana,

COIN OF COMANA.[3]

COIN OF APHRODISIAS.[2]

ASANDER, KING OF PONTUS.[4]

DYNAMIS, WIFE OF ASANDER.[5]

where he bestowed upon a descendant of the former royal family the important office of high priest at the temple of Bellona. Dejotarus, who with his title of tetrarch possessed almost the whole of

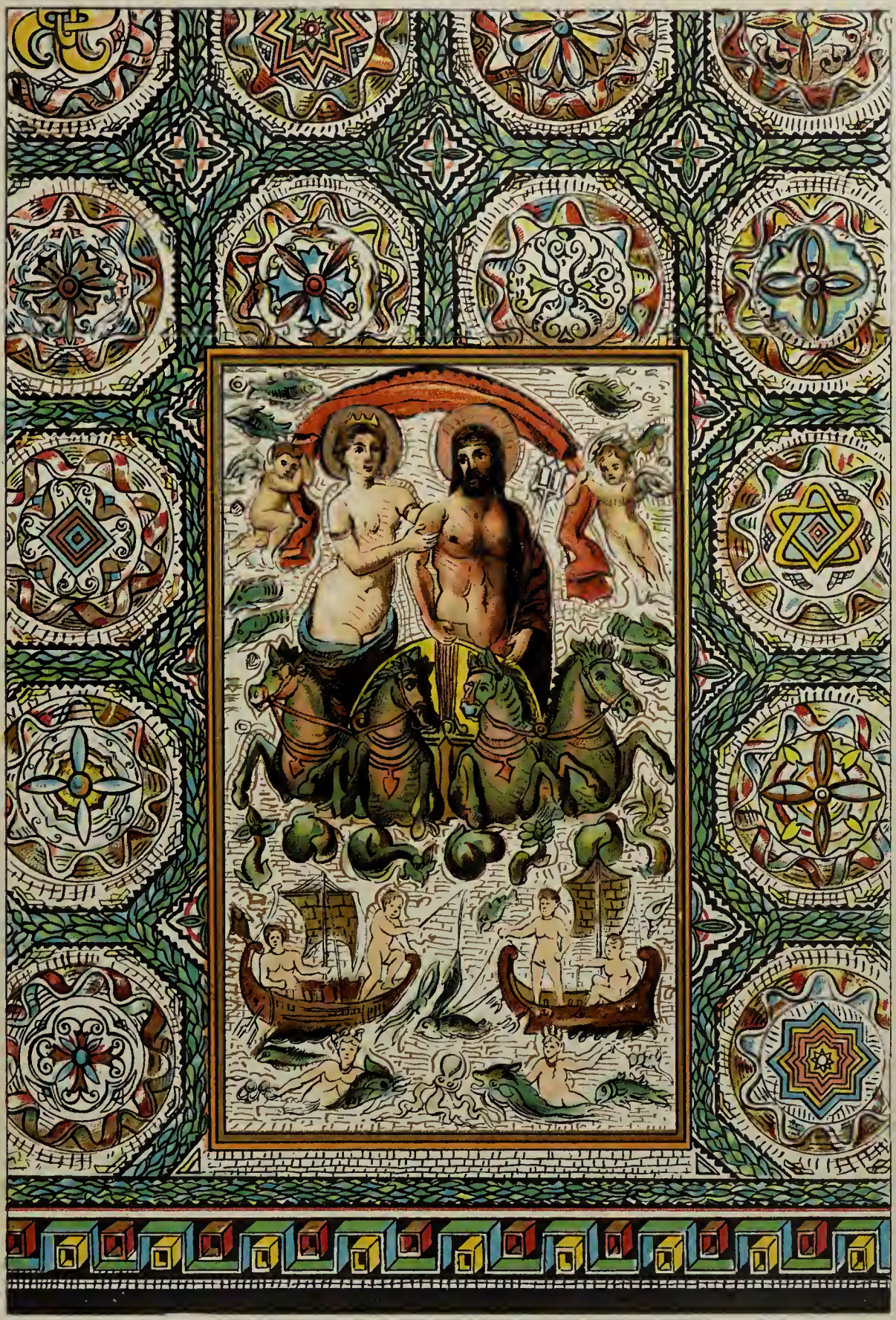
[1] I think at least, that we must thus understand these words of the decree: "On account of services rendered to Caesar." These towns could only have served him in such a manner.

[2] Head of Juno. On the reverse ΠΛΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ; eagle on a thunderbolt. Silver coin showing the close alliance between Aphrodisias and Plarasa.

[3] COL. AVG. COMANA, the goddess of Comana in a temple. Bronze piece of Comana. Cf. pp. 120 and 151, two other coins of this town.

[4] From a gold coin.

[5] From a coin. This princess, a daughter or grand-daughter of the great Mithridates, married, after Asander's death, Ptolemon I., King of Pontus.



NEPTUNE AND AMPHITRITE

Galatia, and with that of king, Lesser Armenia, came to meet Caesar with great humility and as a suppliant. He had fought for Pompey at Pharsalia, and expected to expiate bitterly his failure to recognize in advance the winning side. According to ancient customs this mistake should have cost him his territory, and perhaps his life; but he got off with some reproaches, a fine, and the loss of Galatia, and Caesar restored to him the royal insignia.[1] In Pontus, Pharnaces made an attempt to negotiate in order to obtain time; but Caesar was not the man to be deceived by the duplicity of a Barbarian: he advanced upon the camp of Pharnaces, though he had but a small force, — only one legion of veterans reduced by fatigue and fighting to a thousand men, the two legions of the province of Asia which had been defeated by Pharnaces, and a few troops belonging to Dejotarus. But with him recruits soon became valiant soldiers; and the enemy felt themselves conquered in advance by this hero whom none had been able to defeat. This time, however, Pharnaces, who boasted of having won twenty-two battles, dared to await the Roman army and to make the first attack. Caesar laughed at this boldness.[2] A single engagement reduced the son of Mithridates to flee with a few horsemen as far as the Bosphorus, where he was slain by Asander, who had married his sister Dynamis, and who took his place. In five days this war was brought to a close.[3] "I came, I saw, I conquered," Caesar wrote to one of his friends at Rome. He gave the kingdom of Pharnaces to the illegitimate brother of the latter, Mithridatès, who had so ably led the Egyptian expedition; and, as he could not secure him the immediate possession of it, he added to this eventual gift the Galatian tetrachate of Dejotarus.[4] "Fortunate Pompey," exclaimed Caesar on com-

[1] This Dejotarus, of whom Cicero, his advocate, draws so fine a portrait, was a very bad character. Plutarch (*De Stoic repugn.*) represents him as a cruel despot. Of several sons whom he had, it is said he left alive only the one whom he destined to succeed him. He also slew his daughter and his son-in-law (Strabo, xii. 568). His grandson Castor accused him at Rome of having wished to kill Caesar. These Asiatic kings were never either husbands or fathers. It is difficult to know what Caesar left Dejotarus. Hirtius, Cicero, and Dion Cassius do not agree upon the matter.

[2] . . . *Irridebat inanem ostentationem* (*Bell. Alex.* 74).

[3] The defeat of Pharnaces was on the 2d of August (20th of May), 47 B.C. (*Kalend. Amitern.*; Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 397). Cicero wrote to Atticus (xi. 21): "I do not think Caesar will be at Athens before the 1st of September."

[4] Mithridates never entered into possession of his kingdom: he was defeated and slain by Asander (Strabo, xiii. 625; Dion, xlii. 48, xlvii. 28).

paring these Asiatic wars with his own struggle with the Gauls, — "fortunate Pompey, to have acquired so cheaply the surname of 'Great'!" After having overthrown his rival, he was now disposed to destroy the latter's fame.

II. — Caesar's Return to Rome (47 B.C.).

Affairs being settled in Asia, Caesar at last set out for Italy, where his prolonged absence had caused great disorders, and arrived there before it was known that he had started.

Some disturbance had been occasioned in Rome by a man of whom we have already heard, Caelius, that friend of Cicero whom the orator declares to have been a great statesman, though history only knows him as a mischief-maker. He was a man of active mind, and very sharp of tongue, who had strayed into politics after a career of pleasure. Being praetor in 48, he thought himself ill rewarded for some imaginary services, and, with no other claim than certain fine letters and scandalous intrigues, he sought to fill the first rôles, which were all taken. At the moment when Caesar, with great political sagacity, was effecting his transition from popular leader and military chief into ruler of the State, Caelius set up as a demagogue, and dreamt of seeking his fortune as the leader of the poor. As praetor he promised his support to debtors who would not submit to the decisions of the arbiters so judiciously appointed by Caesar in the preceding year; but, no person applying to him, he then had recourse to the extreme revolutionary methods, — the suspension of rent-payments and the abolition of debts. Caesar's Senate and his colleague in the consulship, Servilius, fortunately showed great decision. The consul forbade Caelius to exercise the functions of his office, and, as the praetor persisted, Servilius had his curule chair broken, and himself driven from the rostra, while not one voice was raised among the people in favor of this tardy representative of bygone tribunitian violence. After this public disgrace and his desertion by the people, the new Catiline quitted Rome, and ended like his forerunner, but more ignominiously. Caelius had recalled Milo, who still had a few of his gladiators with him, from Mar-

seilles; and both together attempted to excite insurrection in Campania and Magna Graecia. But two great ambitions disputing the Empire between them were enough. No attention was paid to these obscure adventurers, who perished unnoticed, — one before Cosa, the other at Thurii.

During the eight months that the struggle in Greece lasted, the city remained in cruel suspense, which was not ended by the news of the battle of Pharsalia, because all that remained of the Pompeian forces were in the neighborhood of Italy. When the account of Pompey's death arrived, and his ring was seen which was brought by Antony, the enthusiasm, hitherto uncertain and kept in reserve for the victor, burst forth round Caesar's name. Antony took care so to direct it that it should further the interests of his general, who was a second time chosen dictator for a whole year (October, 28): the consulship was bestowed upon him for five years, the tribunitian power for life, and the right of deciding upon peace and war, with the presidency of the comitia of election to the higher magistracies. Accordingly, as he was absent, there were only tribunes of the people elected for the year 47. Caesar took possession of the dictatorship at Alexandria, and, as there were no consuls, he intrusted the government of the city to Antony, his master of the horse. Brave, but violent and profligate, Antony had neither the persevering energy nor the subtle prudence which the circumstances demanded. The sinister reports which soon began to be in circulation about the dangerous position of his chief in Egypt made him undecided; he dared not withstand the agitators

ASIATIC VICTORY.[1]

[1] Small bronze figure found in Egypt. It has on a Phrygian cap or tiara, a lappet of which it is raising with the right hand. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3044.)

on whom Caesar's death might perhaps confer the power. Cicero's son-in-law, Corn. Dolabella, ruined by debauchery, had, like Clodius, caused himself to be adopted by a plebeian in order to obtain the tribuneship; once appointed, he had brought forward again the proposal to abolish debts. Antony at first made a feeble resistance; but, when he thought he had a personal insult to avenge on Dolabella, he went to the opposite extreme, and scenes of violence and plunder recommenced in the city,[1] as if to prove, even to the most incredulous, the indispensable need of a master. Fortunately this master was coming. In September, 47, Caesar landed at Tarentum.

Contrary to the expectation of many, his return was marked by no proscription. He only confiscated the property of those who still bore arms against him, and caused Pompey's house on the Palatine and his other estates to be sold at auction. Dolabella and Antony became the purchasers; but the latter refused to pay the price, and proudly answered, in reply to Caesar's demands, that it was his share of the spoil. The dictator contented himself with imposing on him a partial restitution of the money: his opinion of the men of his time was not so high that he cared to employ against them a severity implying that they were capable of reform; and by nature he was averse to rigorous measures.

He increased the number of offices; some, like the praetorship, in the interests of the service; others, such as the sacerdotal colleges, in order to satisfy vain and puerile ambitions.[2] He doubled the number of the Senate by summoning brave officers to it, as Fabius Buteo had done after the battle of Cannae,[3] and bestowing the laticlave upon the most important provincial men.[4] The Roman nobility were naturally indignant: they called these new-comers Barbarians, and pursued them with sarcasms; but these so-called

[1] Cic., *Philipp.* ii. 25; Dion, xlii. 50. In one of these riots eight hundred citizens perished.

[2] He increased the number of augurs, pontiffs, and quindecemvirs. He appointed ten praetors instead of eight (Dion, xlii. 51). Later on, the number was raised to twelve (Pomp., *De Or. jur.*), to fourteen, and even to sixteen (Dion, xlii. 51, xliii. 59). Sallust, whom he appointed praetor for that year, then re-entered the Senate, whence he had been expelled.

[3] See vol. ii. p. 4.

[4] Caesar himself mentions two Allobrogian senators (*Bell. civ.* iii. 59) and a Spanish one (*Bell. Afric.* 28). We have seen (p. 306, note 1) that during his campaigns he kept a free table for provincials of distinction, *illustrioribus provinciarum* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 48). The Emperor Claudius bears witness, that, long before his time, Vienne [in Gaul] furnished senators to the Roman curia.

Barbarians represented in the curia a new and great idea, — the unity of the Roman world.

Although it was the ninth month of the year, he held the consular comitia, and appointed Fufius Calenus and Vatinius for the three months remaining. A few days later he designated himself consul for the following year with Lepidus, and at the same time assumed the dictatorship. His partisans being now provided with appointments, dignities and governments, he gave large presents to the poor and granted debtors the suppression of part of the interest against them. The legions in Campania also claimed the fulfilment of the promises so often renewed: they openly revolted, and even marched to Rome and encamped outside the city gates in the Campus Martius. Caesar visited the camp, called the soldiers, and asked what they desired. They claimed their discharge and the payment of arrears. The dictator granted it. "I dismiss you," he said: "go, Quirites." He had found the surest way to wound their pride: he had called his old companions-in-arms, his fellow-soldiers, *citizens*. To make them citizens was to degrade them; and they implored him to take back his words. Caesar's conduct in this case has been much admired; but it casts a sad light upon the times. All that we have said about the transformation of political feelings is illustrated by the meaning now attached to those two words, "citizens" and "soldiers," *Quirites* and *commilitones*: the civilian is no longer anything, the soldier is everything; the reign of armies approaches; already their chief is unwilling, even within the city's walls, to lay aside his military title of "Imperator."

III. — War in Africa (46 B.C.); Thapsus; Death of Cato.

This sedition being pacified, Caesar set out for Africa, there to destroy what was left after the battle of Pharsalia. L. Octavius, a Pompeian leader, had assembled a few troops in Macedon; thence he had passed into Illyria, and had been compelled by Cornificius and Vatinius to flee into Africa, where Juba and Atius Varus commanded the only Pompeian army which could boast of a victory. The leaders assembled at Corcyra — Labienus, Scipio, Afranius, Petre-

ius, and Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator — resolved to secure that province. When the news of Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia reached Cato, he was at Dyrrachium with a fleet and some soldiers. He offered the chief command to Cicero, a man of consular rank, whereas he himself had only been a praetor. But Cicero was in the greatest distress, fearing to remain "with these mad men," ashamed to depart, and not knowing how to excuse himself to Caesar for his flight from Italy. Cato's proposal decided him. Was he to command? he said. Was he to fight when it was a time not merely to lay down arms, but to throw them away? It was mere mockery. Cnaeus Pompeius rushed upon Cicero, sword in hand, and would have slain him had not Cato protected him while he made his escape. He returned to Brundusium, still accompanied by his lictors with their fasces wreathed with triumphal laurel, and remained there for nearly a year, cursing the Alexandrian war, the war with Pharnaces, and the slowness of Caesar, who was now guilty of prolonging his anxieties by allowing the Pompeians time to rise again, and perhaps bring about some fresh disaster.[2]

COIN OF CORNIFICIUS.[1]

CNAEUS POMPEIUS.[3]

Whilst his friends were making their way towards Utica, Cato, suspecting that Pompey had taken refuge in Egypt, resolved to go to him with his three hundred vessels and the troops which manned them. But for the treachery of the Egyptians, these ten thousand men, finding Pompey alive at Alexandria, might have changed the aspect of affairs. On his way Cato met Pompey's son Cnaeus, and from him received news of the disaster. The only

[1] Head of Jupiter. On the reverse Q. CORNVFICI AVGVR IMP.; Juno Sospita holding a trophy in the left hand, and with the right crowning Cornificius, dressed as an augur. Gold denarius struck at Cyrene, as is indicated by the horned head of Jupiter Ammon.

[2] Cic., *Ad Fam.* xv. 15.

[3] From a coin which Sextus Pompeius had struck during the Sicilian war. The head of Cnaeus faces that of his father, and that of Sextus is on the reverse of the same coin.

course left, therefore, was to direct his march to the Roman province of Africa. The same winds which prevented Caesar leaving Alexandria obliged Cato to leave his fleet in the harbors of the Cyrenaïca all the winter. But in view of the urgent necessity of rejoining the army, which was re-forming in the neighborhood of Utica, he obtained supplies of water and provisions at Cyrene, and entered upon the passage through the desert. When, at the end of thirty days, he reached Leptis Magna, his troops were so fatigued that he was obliged to await the end of the winter at that place: indeed, he

COIN OF UTICA.[1]

COIN OF CYRENE.[2]

COIN OF BARCA.[3]

was there within call of Scipio, and secure of being able to effect a junction with him.

This ex-consul, Scipio, whose name was of such good augury in African warfare, had been recognized as the leader; but he was a very poor general.[4] He took as his second in command Labienus, Caesar's old lieutenant, whose skill could not, however, make amends for the unfortunate choice which had been made of a chief. If at Dyrrachium and Pharsalia the Pompeians had been already divided, what was it now, when the only man capable of restraining them had ceased to live? One man, however, assumed the part of a supreme leader, and this was the barbarian king. But for Cato, all these haughty Romans would have yielded to him, even Scipio,

[1] Livia seated; in the field, D. D. (*decreto decurionum*), P. P. (*pater patriae*). Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Utica by Vibius Marsus, proconsul.

[2] ΔΑΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ; Jupiter Ammon, full-face; beside him a ram. On the reverse ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΩΝ, and a woman driving a quadriga. Gold coin of Cyrene.

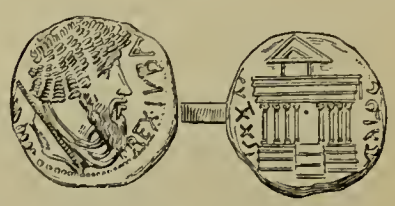
[3] ΒΑΡΚΕΙΟΣ; head of Jupiter Ammon, full-face. Silver coin of Barca.

[4] The "Commentaries" do not mention one Scipio Sallutio, a man otherwise mean and contemptible, but of the house of the Africani, whom, according to Plutarch,—"whether in raillery, or to ridicule Scipio who commanded the enemy, or seriously to bring over the omen to his side, it were hard to say,"—Caesar pretended to put at the head of his army. We do not know who wrote the *De Bell. Afric.*; but the narrative is certainly that of an eye-witness, perhaps Hirtius, the author of the eighth book of the "Gallic War," and less certainly, of the "Alexandrian War."

whom Juba forbade to wear the scarlet cloak of commanders-in-chief, because, said the Numidian, purple belonged only to kings.[1] Juba proposed to sack Utica, accusing it of being devoted to Caesar, but in reality to destroy the Roman capital in Africa; and again Cato prevented him. But Scipio was not so far-sighted: he undertook to pay the Numidian cavalry, and unintentionally furthered the king's policy by devastating the province with the view of ruining the enemy beforehand.

LEPTIS MAGNA.[2]

As soon as Caesar had a few troops ready, he advanced. Once more he seemed to stake his fortune on the hazard of the die. He probably left Rome before the end of November, 47, having with him only one legion of new levies, and not quite six hundred horse. He marched down through Italy, crossed the straits of Messina, and traversed Sicily, to his rendezvous at Lilybaeum. Here he remained some days and received a considerable re-enforcement; then, at the head of six legions and two thousand horse, he set sail for Africa, arriving in sight of land after a four days' passage. His transports were much dispersed by the winds, however, and the troops who landed with him before Hadrumetum were scarcely more than an escort, while he ran the risk of meeting the united forces of Scipio and Juba, consisting of fourteen legions, other light-armed troops, a hundred and twenty elephants, and numerous cavalry. But he thought the enemy's fleet, withdrawn into their harbors, would again allow him a free passage, if he should find it needful to re-embark, and his legionaries, weary of wars, needed to be stimulated by a sense of their leader's danger. He had too, other reasons for his confidence: the report had spread that, to repay Juba for his aid, Scipio had prom-



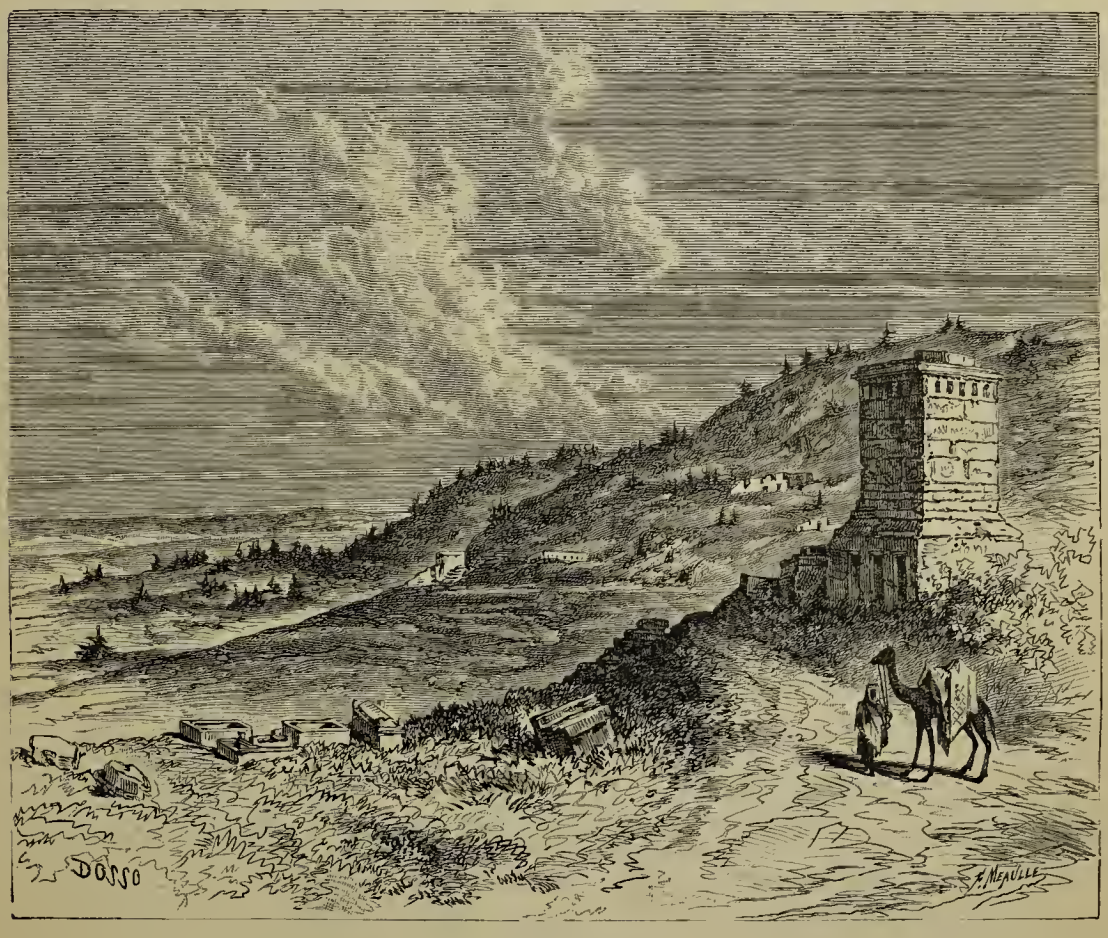
COIN OF JUBA I.[3]

[1] Plut., *Cato.* 64; Caesar, *Bell. Afric.* 57. According to Dion (xliii. 4), Scipio promised him the whole of Roman Africa; but this is not probable.

[2] Bacchus standing, holding a cup and a thyrsus; beside him a panther and four Punic letters. Reverse of a great bronze of Augustus, struck at Leptis Magna.

[3] REX IVBA; bust of Juba I. with his sceptre. On the reverse a temple with eight pillars and a Punic inscription. Silver coin of Juba I.

ised to abandon the Roman province to him, and the numerous citizens who had settled there were angry at a bargain which put them under the sway of the barbarian king. Among these were some descendants of Marian veterans, who, with the fidelity of the Romans to family traditions, looked upon the nephew of their



VIEW OF CYRENE.[1]

father's general as a patron.[2] The Pompeians punished this sentiment as a felony, and laid waste the districts where they thought they had discovered it. Every Caesarian who fell into their hands was put to death. Even Cicero was indignant at these cruelties.[3]

[1] The northern necropolis of Cyrene, after Murdoch Smith, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene.*

[2] . . . *Qui sumus clientes C. Marii . . . ad te voluimus in tuaque praesidia confugere* (*Bell. Afric.* 35). Scipio had agreed to support the king's cavalry at the cost of the province (*Ibid.* 8): hence came levies of money, which estranged the population. Moreover, in order to starve out Caesar, the corn had been everywhere carried into the strongholds, and the flat country laid waste.

[3] *Ad Att.* xi. 7.

Notwithstanding their repeated defeats, these heirs of Sylla were animated with his spirit, and everything points to the conclusion that, if they had triumphed, torrents of blood would have been shed at Rome and throughout Italy and the provinces.

This reign of terror did not insure the fidelity of their soldiers. Their army — composed in a great measure of freedmen,[1] slaves, peasants whose farms had been burnt, and provincials enrolled by force — had no consistency. The renown of their foe frightened these raw troops, who did not share the passions of their leaders; and deserters reached Caesar's camp in such numbers that some time later he was able to form a whole division of them.[2]

Other aid unexpectedly reached him. An Italian named Sittius, an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy and since that time a fugitive, had created for himself in Africa a kind of nomadic royalty. He had gathered round him adventurers from all lands, and had formed of them a considerable piratical squadron, with which he roved along the coasts, or even went inland, living sometimes by plunder, and sometimes on mercenary pay. Sittius was totally indifferent to the mighty quarrel which shook the Roman world; but the fortunes of the Pompeians inspired him with little confidence, whereas he had great faith in those of Caesar, and it is impossible but that, in his wandering life, some disagreements with Juba should have drawn down upon him the enmity of that king. Sittius had a thorough knowledge of the country and possessed partisans in the two Numidian and Moorish kingdoms; Caesar, therefore, employed him to invade Juba's States in company with Bocchus, the Mauritanian king, thus recalling Juba who was on his way with a large army to assist Scipio, — a service of the greatest utility to Caesar.

SITTIUS.[3]

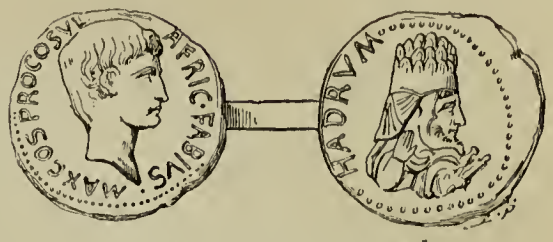
The dictator counted upon taking Hadrumetum without difficulty. Considius held it with a superior force: he even threat-

[1] *Ex hibridis* (born of a Roman father and a foreign mother) *libertinis, servisque, conscripserat* (*Bell. Afric.* 19).

[2] Throughout the *De Bell. Afric.* mention is continually made of deserters going over to Caesar.

[3] SI. P. SITTIVS M . . . IVS IIIIVIR DECR. DECVR. D. Bronze coin of Cirta.

ened the Caesarians, who retreated as far as Ruspina, harassed in their march by two thousand Numidians. But less than thirty horse belonging to Caesar, charging this light cavalry, repulsed them and drove them back within the city's walls. The trading cities on the coast were in favor of the man who would quickly end these interminable wars, that is to say, of Caesar. One of them, Ruspina, sent deputies to him. He hastened to occupy that place, which had a harbor well suited to receive the re-enforcements which he had ordered. Still better news reached him. Leptis Minor, which, notwithstanding its name, was a rich and important city, also offered him its harbor, one of the best on that coast. Caesar was about to set sail to meet his expected re-enforcements,[2] in order to save them from falling into the enemy's hands, when they appeared in sight. Forthwith he resumed the offensive, and with thirty cohorts fell in with the cavalry of Labienus, three miles inland from Ruspina. The latter allowed his Numidians to fight in their own way: they came some distance forward from the battle-front, shot their javelins, and then fled, drawing the legionaries after them in disorder, thus exposed to the hostile infantry. Caesar commanded his troops not to go more than four feet away from the standards. This encouraged the foe; and Labienus taunted the soldiers of Caesar as raw recruits. "Thou art mistaken," one replied; "I am no recruit, but a veteran of the tenth; recognize me by this." And he hurled his javelin at him, which Labienus only avoided by making his horse rear, so that the animal received the weapon



COIN OF HADRUMETUM.[1]

COIN OF LEPTIS MINOR [3]

[1] Fabius Maximus, proconsul of Africa. On the reverse the Phoenician god Oulum, whose name the Romans rendered into *Saeculum frugiferum*, the right hand raised and open, in sign of benediction. Bronze, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, p. 30.

[2] The custom was known of giving the captains of vessels sealed orders, which were only to be opened at sea after a certain time, and Caesar was blamed for not having done this; but he acted with design, for he knew of no port that was free from the enemy's forces, and could only rely upon fortune. The uncertainty of the officers in charge of the re-enforcements and provisions as to when they should land seems to have caused embarrassment. (*Bell. Afric.* 3.)

[3] AEITIC; bust of Mercury. Bronze coin of Leptis Minor.

in its breast. The army, however, drawn up in close order, was surrounded. The position no longer seemed tenable. The situation was extremely critical. But with a signal Caesar opened the ranks, and extended them rapidly in two lines, so that they were able to drive back the foe. Aid brought up by Petreius led Labienus to begin the action again when Caesar thought it was over; but a new charge with horse and foot swept the plain clear. Caesar withdrew to his camp, and the enemy retreated to theirs.

COIN OF JULIUS CAESAR.[1]

Caesar's risk had been very great; but he had extricated himself from it by his coolness and the admirable discipline of his legions. Scipio, however, was expected in three days at the head of eight legions and three thousand horse. Not to meet such forces in the plain, Caesar established himself between Ruspina and the sea, in a camp which he rendered impregnable, and thence he took measures for the safe arrival of his convoys.

He was beginning to suffer from scarcity, when Sallust, at that time praetor, took by surprise the island of Cercina, where the enemy's stores were, and carried off their supplies. Meanwhile Sittius had taken Cirta, the capital of Numidia, had raised the Gaetuli, who never forgave Pompey for having subjected them to the Numidian kings, and by this fortunate diversion had recalled Juba to defend his kingdom. Finally four more legions arrived and a sufficient supply of military stores and provisions.

Caesar's situation was, nevertheless, very strange: military history knows no parallel to it. Of Africa he held only the soil enclosed in his lines. He lacked everything, and must create all, — workshops for forging arms, yards for building machines. He dismantled several galleys in order to have the wood for making palisades; and, when he had no fodder for his horses, his troopers gathered seaweed, and, having washed it in fresh water, thus kept their animals alive. On embarking from Sicily, the fleet being insufficient, order was given to take neither baggage nor slaves on board, and the soldiers were to bring only their arms.

[1] COS. TERT. DICT. ITER; head of Venus. On the reverse AVGVR PONT MAX; instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin struck before Caesar was authorized to put his likeness on money.

THE RAVINE OF RUMMEL (NEAR CIRTA: CONSTANTINE. (DELAMARE: EXPLOR. SCIENT. DE L'ALGÉRIE, P. 359.)

A legionary tribune having disobeyed this order, and filled one vessel entirely with his own equipage and attendants, without taking on board a single soldier, Caesar summoned him immediately on landing, and, in the presence of the tribunes and centurions of the whole army, dismissed him from the service with ignominy,[1] and ordered him to leave Africa at once. Never did any military man better understand the necessity of reducing to the utmost the *impedimenta* which render armies unmanageable.

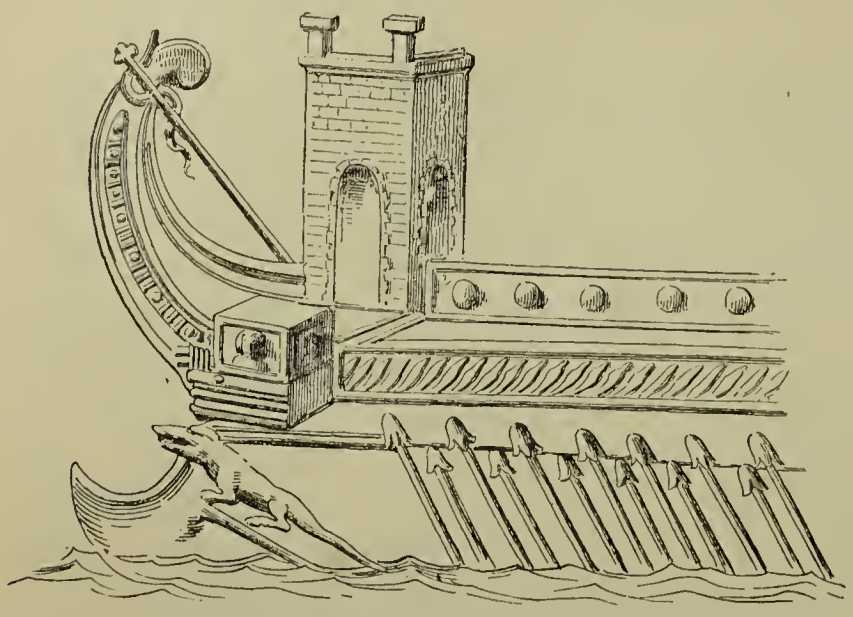
HUTS FORMED OF BOUGHS.[2]

His soldiers supplied themselves with everything by their industry and activity. The Gallic war, where it had been necessary daily to improvise camps, fortresses, fleets, bridges over great rivers, and roads across marshes, had taught them to be engineers, bridge-builders, and mechanics. Thus they worked at all kinds of trades without a murmur, never complaining of the want of necessaries, because their general lived as they did. The Roman

[1] *Ignominiae causa* (*Bell. Afric.* 48). Four other officers were also expelled that day for having shown a want of courage or of the spirit of discipline. They were immediately put on board ship, and each might only take a single slave with him. The punishment was not, on the whole, very severe, and this narrative of an eye-witness contrasts with the severities which Dion Cassius imputes to Caesar.

[2] Huts made of boughs, still used in Algeria. From a photograph.

legionary had been accustomed to lodge in camp under a tent of hides; but these soldiers slept in the open air, or made themselves huts of rushes and boughs, and, when one of the violent storms of Africa soaked this frail shelter through, the soldiers wandered up and down the camp, sheltering their heads with their bucklers.[1] But there was no delay in the manœuvres: the camp was struck or was pitched with the greatest rapidity, and these alert soldiers were always ready to be deployed into the plain for an attack upon the enemy. One day, in less than half an hour, they made a ditch and rampart to protect themselves against Scipio's cavalry.[2]



BIREME WITH A TOWER IN THE PROW.[3]

That methodical general had not known how to profit by the advantages offered him by Cæsar's temerity, the superiority of his own fleet, and his numerous army.[4] He hoped to reduce his formidable adversary by starvation, and to allow Juba time to join him with three legions: his only care was to avoid the battle which Cæsar urged. Two months passed in marches and campings, without any result, in the narrow space enclosed between the towns of Leptis, Ruspina, Achilla, and Agar,

[1] . . . *Arundinibus scopisque contextis . . . scutis capita contegebant* (*Bell. Afric.* 47). In Spain, in the following year, Cæsar's soldiers had still only *casas quae stramentitiae . . . hibernorum causa, aedificatae erant* (*Bell. Hispan.* 16).

[2] . . . *Ea minus semi hora effecit* (*Bell. Afric.* 38), whence we see that Cæsar's soldiers can still teach ours something. He had covered his workmen with a screen of cavalry.

[3] From a marble bas-relief (Rich, *Dict. des ant. rom. et grecq.* under the word *Biremis*).

[4] The Pompeian fleet was originally far superior to Cæsar's, yet it confined itself to capturing a few merchant-ships, and made no serious attempt to obtain the command of the Maltese Channel, which would apparently have been easy, and would have starved out Cæsar. Evidently Scipio did not know how to make use of it, and his captains did not like remaining out at sea in the bad season.

which Caesar held, and Hadrumetum, Thapsus, Uzita, and Thysdrus, occupied by Scipio.[1] It was not Caesar's custom to remain so long in the vicinity of the enemy without finding means to bring him to a battle, as at Pharsalia, or to hem him in, as at Lerida. But he had only a few hundred horse, while there were thousands of them in the Pompeian army, and he had been kept to the coast by the necessity of awaiting his convoys from Sicily, for the provisions of the towns which had received his garrisons and the grain stores of the natives had been quickly exhausted. For water, he had been obliged to dig wells in the plain which extended from the hills to the sea, and consequently to leave the heights to his foes; and, finally, his scanty troops contained many recruits whom he was only making into veterans by daily skirmishes.

COIN OF ACHILLA.[2]

He at last, however, made ready to strike some decisive blow. An attempt upon Thysdrus failed; but by skilful manœuvres he succeeded in investing Thapsus, an important place, the harbor of which, added to those of Ruspina and Leptis, would give him a great stretch of coast, and consequently facilitate the arrival of supplies. Situated between the sea and a salt lake, Thapsus communicated with the mainland by a single road. In a few hours Caesar cut through this isthmus, and the ancients were so powerless to batter intrenchments, that a ditch and an earthwork executed in one night were sufficient to stop an army. Scipio could not abandon Thapsus without incurring both shame and danger: he hastened thither as soon as he was informed of the enemy's march, but halted before the lines, and decided to accept battle. A somewhat remarkable event signalized the opening of the engagement. Caesar's lieutenants were begging him to give the sign of battle, and he was hesitating, and striving

COIN OF THYSDRUS.[3]

[1] Zeta and Sarsura were taken by Caesar. Thabena asked him for a new garrison, after having massacred that placed there by the king; Vacca wished to do the same; but Juba, being warned of it, slew the population.

[2] P. QVINCTII VARI ACHVLLA; head of the proconsul Varus. Bronze coin of Achulla, Acholla, or Achilla.

[3] Veiled head of Astarte with the cruciform sceptre, and a Punic inscription. Bronze coin of Thysdrus.

to repress their eagerness within the limits of duty, when suddenly a trumpet in the right wing, without his leave, and compelled by the soldiers, sounded a charge. On this all the cohorts ran to battle in spite of the endeavors of the centurions to restrain them by force. Then Caesar, perceiving that the ardor of his soldiers would admit of no restraint, gave them Good Luck (*Felicitas*) for the word, and charged the enemy's front. The day

ELEPHANT.[1]

RUINS OF BULLA REGIA.[2]

was indeed a fortunate one. The elephants in Scipio's army caused some alarm; but the archers and slingers of the fifth legion so terrified the animals, that they turned upon their own men, treading them down in heaps, and even rushed into the camp in their fright. From that day forward, says a writer of the second century of our era, this legion has always borne on its standards the elephant, which may still be seen there.[3] Notwithstanding their

[1] CAESAR; elephant trampling on a serpent. On a silver coin of Julius Caesar. Spartianus (*Ael. Ver.* 2) says that *caesar* was in the Punic language the name of the elephant.

[2] Bulla Regia stood four days' journey from Carthage, on the banks of a tributary of the Bagradas. The engraving is taken from a learned memoir by the French minister at Constantinople, M. Tissot, who himself sketched these ruins.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 96. [There are other instances of this emblem in history. The great

numbers, the Pompeians were defeated, their three camps taken, and they left thirty thousand men on the field (6th of April–6th of February). All that remained of the Republican army broke up. Thapsus, Hadrumetum, and Thysdrus opened their gates; Zama, the capital of the Numidian king, refused to admit him; Bulla Regia, another of his residences, seems to have done the like. In this general rout Caesar's clemency seemed to the soldiers to be their surest refuge: the secondary officers and almost the whole of Juba's cavalry gave themselves up to him.

But the leaders could not do this. After Pharsalia, no one amongst them had as yet thought of taking any desperate resolution. The war which was then closing had been an honorable one; and the cruelties of Bibulus and Labienus, having only fallen upon sailors and soldiers, had been forgotten, so that no one feared reprisals. On the morrow of the battle, Brutus had gone over to Caesar's camp, and a few days later Cassius had surrendered his fleet to him. The African war had a totally different character: it was a merciless struggle, which the Pompeians waged by atrocities. On neither side did the leaders hope that the victor would pardon: it only remained for the vanquished generals, therefore, to seek other battlefields if they could find them, or else to die. Labienus, Varus, and Sextus took refuge in Spain, whither Pompey's eldest son had already repaired after a vain attempt on the coasts of Mauretania. Scipio also set sail for that province; but the vessel which carried him was driven by a storm into the port of Bona, into the midst of the squadron of Sittius, which surrounded him. "Where is the general?" cried the assailants. "The general is in safety," answered Scipio,[2] and fell upon his sword. Almost all the others perished: Considius was slain in his flight

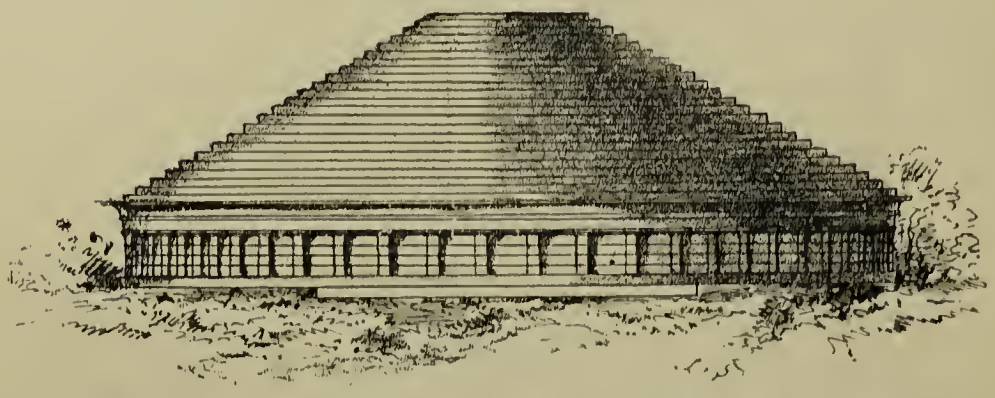
SEXTUS POMPEIUS.[1]

victory of the first Antiochus over the Galatians was celebrated by a medal stamped with an elephant, having been the arm which had brought victory. In our own army, the regiments which fought at the battle of Assaye have likewise an elephant on their colors. — *Ed.*]

[1] From an engraved gem in the Gallery of Florence. It bears the engraver's name, ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. Brunn (*Geschichte der griech. Künstl.*) contends against the attribution of this head to Pompey's second son.

[2] Livy, *Epit.* cxiv.

by his escort of Gaetulian horse; Afranius and Faustus Sylla fell into the hands of Sittius and were slain in a riot among the soldiers.[1] Juba and Petreius, repulsed from every town, resolved to put an end to their miseries. After a sumptuous feast, each took his sword, and they fought together. Juba easily killed Petreius, who was an old man, and then himself perished by the hand of a slave. His ashes were taken to Madras'en to rest with those of the Numidian kings. The duel between the younger Marius and Telesinus, in the vaults at Praeneste, had brought this kind of death into fashion. Cato introduced another, which illustrious men afterwards imitated, and of which history speaks with respect.



TOMB OF THE KINGS OF NUMIDIA: THE MADRAS'EN (RESTORATION).[2]

Cato was in command at Utica: he there received the news of the defeat on the evening of the 8th of April; the next morning he assembled the senators who had remained with him, as well as the three hundred Roman citizens settled in that town for purposes of business, commerce, and money-lending.[3] He advised them to defend

[1] Sylla's widow was the sister of Cnaeus: Caesar sent her back to her brother with her two children (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 100).

[2] There exist in Algeria some gigantic tumuli: in the province of Oran are the *Djedar*, three massive erections crowning three offsets of the Djebel-Akhdar; in the province of Algiers, the *Kebeur Roumia* (tomb of the Christian woman), the sepulchre of Juba II., of Cleopatra his wife, and of Ptolemy, the last of the kings of Mauretania; and in the province of Constantine, the *Madras'en*, or tomb of the kings of Numidia (Madres, patronymic of the family of Masinissa). The ashes of the vanquished of Thapsus were most probably borne thither. The basement is 192½ feet by 14½ feet high: the truncated cone, formed of twenty-four steps, is raised to a height of 45¾ feet: sixty engaged pillars without bases, the capitals of which recall those of Egypt rather than the Tuscan order, surround the monument, which was rifled long ago. The explorations of 1873 led to no discoveries in the sepulchral chamber. (See in vol. xvi. of the *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, the report of Colonel Brunon on these researches.)

[3] According to Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 95) these three hundred constituted the Pompeian

BONA (ALGERIA), NEAR THE SITE OF UTICA.

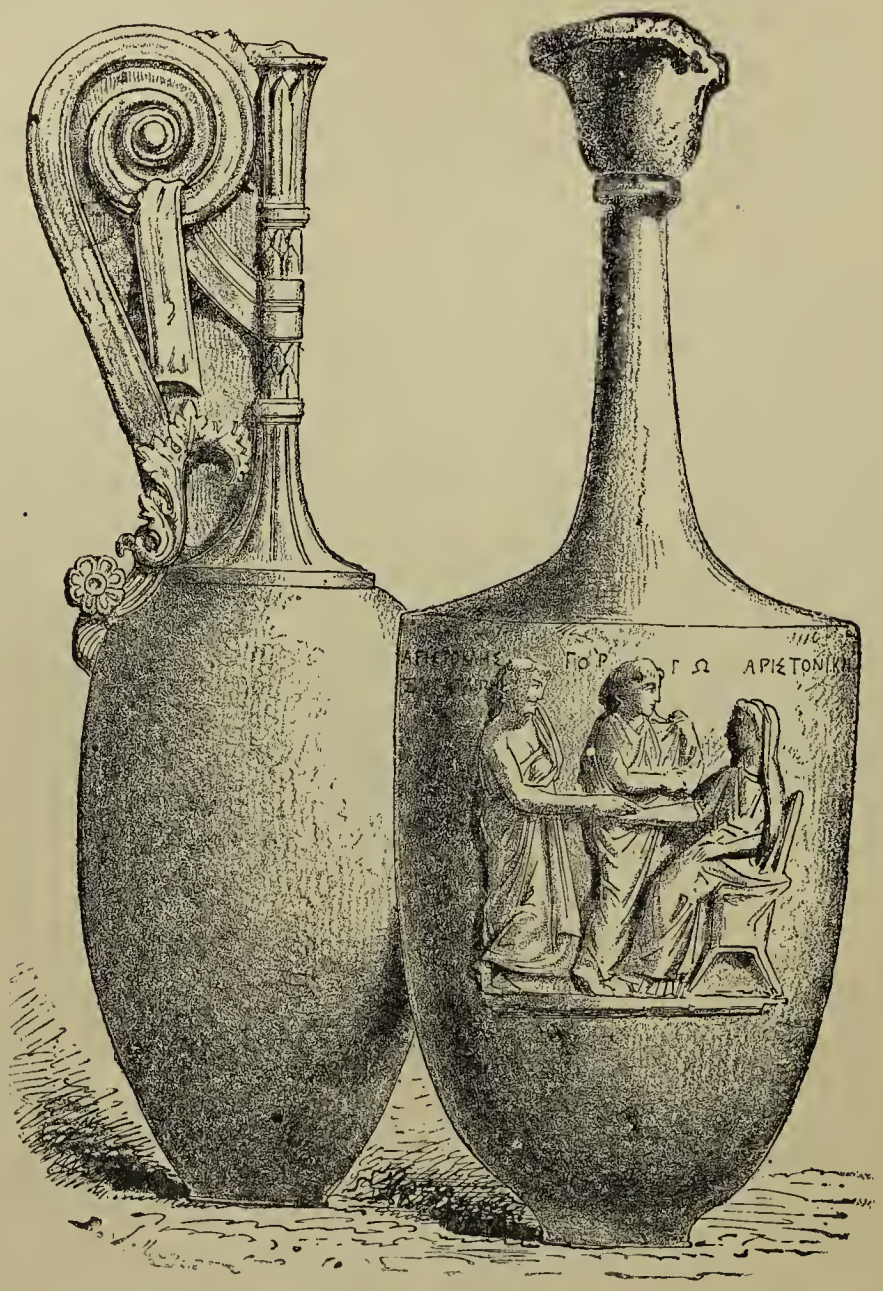
the place, and at first his energy infused itself into every heart; but a proposal was made to begin by freeing and arming their slaves. This first sacrifice stopped them, and they ended by abandoning all idea of resistance. Much confusion prevailed in the city, still further increased by the arrival of a considerable body of horse, fugitives from the late battle. By aid of this force Cato hoped to be able to defend the city; but the dissensions prevailing between the different factions rendered it impossible, and he therefore occupied himself with making arrangements for the safety of all. "Never, perhaps, had

TOMB OF THE KINGS OF NUMIDIA: THE MADRAS'EN (PRESENT STATE).

there been a time," says Plutarch, "when Cato's virtue appeared more manifestly; and every class of men in Utica could clearly see with sorrow and admiration how entirely free was everything that he was doing from any secret motives, or any mixture of self-regard; he, namely, who had long before resolved on his own death, was taking such extreme pains, toil, and care, for the sake of others, that, when he had secured their lives, he might put an end to his own." When he heard that the dictator was marching with his whole army upon Utica, "Ah!" said he, "Caesar expects to find us brave men." He then urged the senators to delay no longer,

Senate: the author of the *De Bell. Afric.* (90) only calls them the CCC who had furnished money to Scipio and Juba; but he distinguishes them from the other Roman merchants settled in the town. Some of them were put to death.

caused all the gates to be shut except that towards the harbor, furnished vessels, and gave money and provisions to those who needed them, and saw that everything was done with great order and exactness. L. Caesar, a relative of the conqueror, whom the



FUNERAL URNS.[1]

three hundred had charged to entreat his clemency for them, besought Cato to compose a speech for him, and declared that he should specially intercede in the latter's behalf. Cato forbade him

[1] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, etc. pl. 81.

to do so. "If I were willing to owe him my life, I would myself go to him," he said; "but I will be beholden for nothing to a tyrant."

After having taken a bath that evening, he supped with a numerous company, and they held a long discussion on the theme that the good man alone is free, and all the wicked slaves. When he had dismissed his guests, he retired and read in bed Plato's dialogue ["Phaedo"] upon the immortality of the soul. Having read more than half the book, he looked around him, and missing his sword, which his son had taken away, he called for it, and then continued his reading, that he might not display any impatience. When he had ended the book, observing that his sword had not been brought, he sent for all his slaves, loudly demanded his sword, and struck one of them so violently that his own hand was hurt by the blow. His son entered in tears with his friends. Then Cato, raising himself up, said to him in a severe tone, "When and how did I become deranged, that no one tries to persuade me by reason, or show me what is better, if I am supposed to be ill advised? Must I be disarmed, and hindered from using my own reason? And you, young man, why do you not bind your father's hands behind him, that when Caesar comes he may find me unable to defend myself? To despatch myself I need no sword: I should but hold my breath awhile, or strike my head against the wall." Finally his sword was brought to him by a child: he took it and examined the point. "Now I am my own master," he said; and he took up the "Phaedo" again, read it through the second time, after which he fell into such a deep sleep that the sound of his breathing was heard outside.

Towards midnight he sent one of his freedmen to the harbor to make sure that all his friends had embarked, and summoned another to dress the wound which he had made on his hand, at which they all rejoiced, hoping he now designed to live. As the birds were beginning to sing, he fell asleep again for a few moments; then waking, and drawing his sword, he plunged it into his body below the breast. His wounded hand prevented him striking a sure blow, and, struggling against the anguish, he fell from his bed. At the noise of the fall his friends and servants hastened into the room. The wound was not a mortal one. The

physician bandaged it up; but, as soon as Cato recovered consciousness, he tore off the dressing, re-opened the wound, and expired.

Cato was a Stoic, and his conduct was in accordance with his doctrine, when, according to the precepts of the school, he practised "the reasonable exit," εὔλογος ἐξαγωγή. He did it quite simply, though the effect may have been theatrical, and he deprived the victor of his noblest conquest. "O Cato!" exclaimed Caesar, on hearing of his end, "you have grudged me the preservation of your life!" Yet when Cicero, who admired the courage which he did not possess, composed a eulogy on the illustrious dead, the dictator, who wielded the pen as well as the sword, replied to it with the "Anti-Cato," a witty and mocking satire, in which the rigid praetor was represented as sifting the ashes of his brother in order to recover the gold melted on the funeral-pyre, and yielding his beautiful young wife to Hortensius that he might take her back again, old but wealthy, after the orator's death. It is a singular thing that Cato has against him both the Caesars, the ancient and the modern. The one exposes to the derision of his courtiers the too rigid virtue of the last of the Republicans: the other, whom death so often passed by, accuses him of having basely deserted his post.[1] Neither of them was far wrong; but we love the self-devotion which clings to all great things when they are perishing. Cato and the Republic depart together: the death of the one is a worthy ending to the funeral ceremonies of the other.

The great and true Republic of former days, which had inspired so many obscure and silent acts of devotion, had long since disappeared, and the false liberty for which Cato died was not worthy of the sacrifice. But he believed he was giving his life for the right, and we must needs honor, even though it be mistaken, the

[1] In his reflections upon Caesar's "Commentaries," Montesquieu agrees with his opinion; and Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic, condemns voluntary death as a shrinking from duty. "The servant who flees," says he, "is a deserter." A recent historian of Caesar, Mr. Froude, says of Cato, "His character had given respectability to a cause, which, if left to its proper defenders, would have appeared in its natural baseness, and thus on him rested the responsibility for the color of justice in which it was disguised" (*Caesar*, p. 421, 1879). The same writer, recalling Lucan's famous verse, *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*, adds, "Was Cato right, or were the gods right? Perhaps both." And we agree with him.

sense of duty which leads a man to suffer death. From that day, the Republican party had its martyr: the blood of Cato endowed it with a virtue which kept it alive long after its defeat, and was the cause of the terrible tragedies witnessed under the Empire. Cato did not kill himself only: by his example and the legend which gathered around his name, he drew after him to the tomb many a man of the like narrow mind and the like fierce virtue. Nevertheless, he is still the first of these heroes of civil life who have protested by grand stoic deaths against the cruelty of fate or the degradation of men.

[1] Engraved gem, from the *Cabinet de France*.

WOUNDED HERO.[1]

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE MONARCHY.

I. — Caesar again in Rome (46 B.C.). Triumphs, Festivities, and Reforms.

WHEN Caius Gracchus, taking refuge in the Temple of Diana, upon the Aventine, saw his followers massacred by the mercenaries of Opimius, "he fell upon his knees, and, lifting his hands towards the goddess, implored her to punish the Romans for their ingratitude by giving them a master." But it was not a thought of vengeance which occupied at that supreme moment the mind of the reforming and pacific tribune. It would seem that he had a prophetic glimpse of the future; he perceived that Rome could only be saved if she were snatched out of the hands of an aristocratic minority who refused to make the most necessary reforms, and without right or justice murdered those who had called for them.

If, now, in order to study the history of Rome from the time of the Gracchi, we lay aside the prejudices of the schools and the declamations of an ignorant rhetoric, we see clearly that the Romans, in conquering the world, had lost their liberty, and that the Republic, once every man's affair, had now become the property of a narrow and jealous oligarchy, proposing to live in luxury at the expense of the whole world. Against this greedy and incompetent faction had risen up, at last, popular leaders, who took the part of the people, the allies, and the subject races. This was the era of attempts at reform. Reforms not having succeeded, revolution became inevitable, — the ever-recurring story of those governments which shut their eyes to the future. In France, monarchy being the past which men sought to destroy, the republic very naturally succeeded it:

in Rome, the insurrectionary movement being directed against a republican aristocracy, a monarchy of course followed. The logic of history demanded this, and that logic, being the outcome of facts, proves correct in the end.

As the popular leaders had perished by violence, the direction of affairs passed over to the military leaders. At first they united to consolidate the sway of Rome, Pompey in the East, Caesar in the West; and to the brilliancy of their services they owed a special position in the State. Pompey was only a soldier, from whom the oligarchy had nothing to fear if his puerile vanity were but satisfied. In Caesar they foresaw a statesman akin to the Gracchi, one of those men who hoped for a new State built on the ruins of the old: Caesar was therefore their mortal enemy. In order to overthrow him, they granted Pompey, contrary to the constitution, that show of royalty which contented the man whose intelligence could not conceive a new order of things. For nearly a century the word "republic" had meant nothing but murders and proscriptions, civil wars, and the overthrow of fortunes; on all sides insecurity; nowhere and for no one any comfort in living. To this state of things Caesar wished to put an end, and we take his side against the incompetent men who sat in the curia, styled themselves the law, and daily violated it. After having thus provoked the civil war, they were incompetent to carry it on. The battle of Pharsalia had driven them out of Greece; that of Thapsus expelled them from Africa; and for the moment Caesar no longer saw, throughout the whole Roman world, a single foe in arms against him. He was thus at length free to commence his reforms. Let us see whether he deserved his fortune.

SALLUST.[1]

When Caesar had levied two hundred million sesterces[2] in the

[1] SALVSTIVS (*sic*) AVTOR; head of Sallust; a palm, sunk, in the field. Medallion (*Cabinet de France*), struck after Constantine, but giving the portrait of Sallust, whose bust in the Vatican (*Braccio nuovo*) does not appear to be authentic.

[2] Caesar sold by auction at Zama the property of Juba and of those of the Roman citizens settled in Numidia who had sided with the king: at Utica he confiscated the possessions of all who had held commands in the Pompeian army. Thapsus paid five million sesterces: Hadrumetum, eight million. Leptis was condemned to furnish yearly three million pounds of oil: Thysdrus supplied wheat. (*Bell. Afric.* 97.)

province, united Eastern Numidia to Africa under the government of Sallust the historian, and divided the remainder of that kingdom between Bocchus, who had the country of Setif, and Sittius, who obtained Cirta with its dependencies,[1] he returned to Rome towards the end of July, 46 B.C. The Senate had already decreed forty days of thanksgiving for his victory. His triumphal car was to be drawn by white horses, like that of Camillus, the second founder of Rome, and was afterwards to be placed in the Capitol, in front of the altar of Jupiter. A brazen statue was to be erected to him, the orb of the world under his feet, with this inscription, "Caesar, demi-god;" and at the Circus he was to give the signal for the races to commence. "In order to reconstruct the Republic," *reipublicae constituendae causae*, he was to hold the dictatorship for ten years, which gave him the initiative in proposing laws, together with the military *imperium*, or command of the armies in the city and in the provinces: for three years he was to have the censorship without a colleague, under the new name of *praefectus morum*, that is to say, the right of revising the list of the Senate and the equestrian order, which gave him the means of rewarding and punishing a great many men. With the exception of the consulship, which was given him for the year 45, without a colleague, he was to have the

JULIUS CAESAR WITH THE LAUREL CROWN.

[1] Many inscriptions found near Constantine record Sittius and his establishment there.

right of appointment to half the curule offices;[1] he was to determine which should be the praetorian provinces;[2] and he was to decide upon peace or war: that is to say, the people surrendered to him their elective power and the Senate their administrative sway. In the Senate he was to sit between the two consuls on a curule chair raised higher than the rest, as a symbol of his higher authority, and to give his opinion first, that is, he was to direct as it pleased him the deliberations of the body, which, since the troublous times began, had concentrated in its hands almost all the legislative power.

He celebrated four triumphs at intervals of several days. The first triumph was over the Gauls, the second over the Egyptians, the third over Pharnaces, and the fourth over Juba. Neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus were mentioned; and before his chariot were seen only the images of conquered kings and generals, those representing captured towns, and the rivers and the ocean which he had crossed. Among the captives there was not one Roman; but Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoë, was there, and Juba's son, and Vercingetorix, the great Gallic chief, whom the triumvirs were awaiting at the Tullianum to slay.[3] Nothing recalled Pompey to men's minds. He showed less consideration for the vanquished in Africa, who were in a manner degraded from their title of citizens by their alliance with a barbarian king, causing Cato, Scipio, Petreius and the others, to be represented in the manner of their death. At that sight, doubtless, many hearts felt a sting; but sadness was lost in the brilliance of the festival. And the crowd were little inclined to think of all those dead men, when beneath their dazzled eyes there passed a spectacle of great promise, — sixty thousand talents in coined money (more than fifty-six million dollars), and twenty-eight hun-

[1] He did not make use of this prerogative for eight months: until the month of September in the year 45, the first of his decennial dictatorship, he was sole consul. Lepidus, his master of horse, and six (or, according to others, eight) prefects whom he appointed, took the places of the curule magistrates. In September he resigned the consulship, which he bestowed upon two of his generals, Fabius Maximus and Trebonius. The principal affairs of the government were really in the hands of his two agents, Oppius and Balbus. (Dion, xliii. 28, 48, and Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76.)

[2] Dion, xliii. 51; Suet., *Ibid.* 41.

[3] Arsinoë retired into the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, where her sister caused her to be put to death, after the battle of Philippi. Juba became a valued historian, and Augustus gave him back part of his father's possessions.

dred and twenty-two golden crowns.[1] What cared the people for a poverty-stricken and counterfeit liberty when their master promised them splendid festivals? Only the soldiers, making use of their ancient right, rallied their commander with coarse jests and songs as they marched. Dion relates, that in order to avert by an act of humility the anger of Nemesis, the goddess hostile to great fortunes, Caesar ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees.[2]

In this city filled with memories of the murders by which the oligarchy had sought to make their power secure, and where the sons of the men proscribed by Marius and Sylla yet lived, not a single head fell, not even a tear was shed: on all sides there was pleasure and rejoicing. After the triumph, the whole Roman people were entertained at twenty-two thousand tables of three couches each, spread as if for the nobles: Chian wine and Falernian flowed freely, and the poorest might taste the much-vaunted lampreys and murenas.[3] If, far away from these tables of revelry, a few old Republicans stood apart, with shame on their foreheads and hatred in their hearts, they must at least have remembered, as a contrast to this domination which began with feasting, that others, not long before, had begun with blood.

VENUS, ON A COIN OF THE YEAR 44 B.C.[4]

In the evening the victor traversed the city with forty elephants bearing lighted candelabra, and on the day following came the distributions, — to each citizen a hundred and five denarii, ten bushels

[1] Together they weighed twenty-four hundred and fourteen λίτρας, or pounds of twelve ounces (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 102).

[2] xliii. 21. Claudius did the same after the conquest of Britain (Dion, xl. 23), and it is still done in many places as an act of devotion; I have seen it at Passau, and it is often seen at the Scala Santa of the Lateran at Rome. "Caesar never failed, it is asserted, to repeat thrice, when he got into a carriage, a formula which should secure him against accident by the way, a precaution which, to our knowledge, is now generally adopted" (Pliny, *Hist Nat.* xxviii. 4). Incredulity and superstitious practices go very well together, answering to the double nature which man so often bears within him, — doubt and faith.

[3] Counting, as was customary, three persons to each couch, we have a hundred and ninety-eight thousand guests, or two hundred and sixty-four thousand, if there were four.

[4] CAES. DIC. QVAR. (Caesar, dictator for the fourth time); head of Venus with diadem. On the reverse, in a laurel wreath, COS. QVINC. (consul for the fifth time). Caesar had not yet the right, which he shortly afterwards obtained, of stamping the coinage with his effigy.

of wheat, ten pounds of oil; to all the poor the remission of a year's rent, which was no doubt paid out of the public treasury; to the legionaries five thousand denarii per man; to the centurions twice that sum; to the tribunes four times as much. The veterans received grants of land. On the succeeding days the festivals continued in the name of his daughter Julia and of Venus, the ancestress of his race. During the Gallic war he had bought for sixty million sesterces a very large piece of ground, which he had made into a new Forum, with no Republican memories, and filled with the glory of his name. He had there built a temple to Venus Genitrix, which he now dedicated, and placed in it a beautiful statue of Cleopatra,[1] which was still to be seen there two centuries later.

VENUS GENITRIX.[2]

Festive displays of all kinds made the people willing to accept this apotheosis of the Julian house, — scenic representations, Trojan games, Pyrrhic dances, foot and chariot races, wrestling of athletes, hunts in which were slain wild bulls, a giraffe (the first seen at Rome), and as many as four hundred lions, a naval fight between Tyrian and Egyptian galleys, and finally a battle between two armies, each containing five hundred infantry, three hundred horse and twenty elephants. On this occasion the gladiators were eclipsed; some knights and the son of a praetor de-

[1] Κλεοπάτρας εἰκονα καλήν. Appian saw it. (*Bell. civ.* ii. 102.)

[2] Statue in the Gallery at Florence, No. 265. Several museums in Europe possess statues of Venus Genitrix in similar attitude.

scended into the arena ; and even senators would have been willing to fight there ; but Caesar was obliged to keep his Senate free from this disgrace. From all corners of Italy men flocked to these games. So great was the mass, that people camped in the streets and cross-roads under tents ; and numbers of persons, among them two senators, were suffocated in the crowd. Over the amphitheatre, to shield the spectators from the rays of the sun, was stretched a *velarium* of silk,[1] a material then almost unknown at Rome, and dearer than its weight in gold.

ATHLETES WRESTLING.[2]

In the midst of these festivals, wherewith the dictator paid for his royalty, he did not forget that he had to justify his power by securing order. Till his consulship he had relied chiefly on the people and the knights ; during his command in Gaul, and throughout the Civil war, he had transferred this reliance to the army ; he now

[1] Dion, xliii. 24. I doubt if there could at that time have been found sufficient silk in Rome to have made this immense awning.

[2] Magnificent groups from the Tribune at Florence (*la Lotta*), one of the most beautiful that antiquity has left us. It is thought to have been discovered on the Esquiline, like the Niobides, and sold, as were those statues, to the Medicis. The gardens of Maecenas were on the Esquiline.

hoped to make himself secure by a wise and moderate government which should unite all parties, forget all injuries, and elicit gratitude by an able and benevolent administration. Although in Africa he had shown himself more severe than at Pharsalia, he was still determined to persevere in his clemency. He had granted to the Senate the recall of the ex-consul Marcellus, to Cicero that of Ligarius; he had destroyed the compromising papers found in the enemy's camps, and he pronounced decrees of confiscation only against those citizens who had enrolled themselves in the troops of the Numidian king, which he called treason to Rome, and against Pompeian officers, and even then he left women their dowry and children a portion of their inheritance; finally he endeavored in 44, by a general amnesty, to efface the last traces of the Civil war. But in spite of its name, *ἀμνηστία*, which means forgetfulness, an amnesty never caused anything to be forgotten. A few weeks after it was issued, Caesar was assassinated.

This mildness was allied with firmness. Some legionaries, thinking their reign had arrived, had cried out against the expenses of the triumph, as though the money had been stolen from them: he caused one of them to be put to death.[1] When he gave land to his veterans, he took care that their allotments were separated, in order to avoid the violences which a number of soldiers assembled at one point might have committed against their neighbors;[2] and, in increasing the pay of those who remained with the standards to nine hundred sesterces instead of four hundred and eighty (about forty-three dollars instead of twenty-five), he had yielded, not to seditious clamors, but to a necessity brought about by the general rise in prices.

So much for the soldiers. As for the people, three hundred and twenty thousand citizens lived in Rome at the expense of the State, and all the beggars in Italy were flocking to the city to profit by the distributions. He reduced the number of receivers to a hundred and fifty thousand by excluding from the distributions those who

[1] Dion, xliii. 24, 50. He also mentions two men who were slain, *ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας*, by the pontiffs and flamen of Mars, no doubt for some religious expiation, concerning the motive of which both he and we know nothing.

[2] *Assignavit agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 38).

could do without them, and by offering to others land in the provinces.[1] Eighty thousand accepted the offer.[2] Thus at the same time he diminished the hungry crowd which encumbered the town, where it formed a permanent source of danger, and created centres of Roman civilization in the provinces. It was the ancient way, and no better has since been discovered, of solving by means of colonies the problem of the proletariat, which England and Germany now seek to escape by wholesale emigration. But he preserved the *annona*, a great benevolent institution for the relief of the poor, who, without being of Roman origin, represented the conquerors of the corn-producing provinces, and had inherited their right to enjoy the fruits of those victories. Every year it was the praetor's duty to replace the dead by inscribing fresh names on the list. Two aediles, *aediles cerealcs*, directed this administration, at the head of which Augustus afterwards placed a *praefectus annonae*. Another measure tended towards the same object, — the diminution of the number of idle beggars: Caesar required proprietors to maintain a third part of free laborers among those at work on their land. This was a law which had already been made, and had always been eluded, because Rome had no permanent power interested in seeing it carried out.

The free population was decreasing: to augment the number he brought two powerful motives into play, — interest and vanity. To the father of three children at Rome, four in Italy, or five in the provinces, he granted exemptions from certain personal taxes, and to the mother he gave the right to go about in a litter, to clothe herself in purple, and to wear a necklace of pearls.

He suppressed all associations formed since the Civil war, which served malcontents and ambitious schemers either to conceal their plots or to carry them into execution:[3] henceforth none could be established but with the consent of the government. There was probably a law made restricting the right to appeal to the people.[4]

[1] He founded only six colonies in Italy, not, like Sylla, at the expense of the Italian populations, but in spots which were then almost desert, — at Veii, Lanuvium, etc.

[2] Perhaps he now created the *jus Italicum*, which identified provincial and Italic soil, by exempting the *coloni* from *tributum*, and giving them quiritarian ownership.

[3] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 42; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10. That of the Jews at Rome was excepted on account of the service rendered by that nation in the Alexandrian war.

[4] At least Antony re-established such a law in 44 (Cic., *Philipp.* i. 9).

The courts were re-organized at the expense of the popular element, for he excluded the tribunes of the treasury from holding the office of judge, which he reserved for senators and knights;[1] but he had admitted a large number of new men into those two orders. The regulation respecting associations deprived the nobles of a means of disturbing the government; severe provisions were added to the laws against treason and other crimes of violence; and the duration of a governorship of a province was fixed at one year for a praetor and two for a proconsul. A sumptuary law, quite as useless, of course, as those which had preceded it, attempted to diminish the insulting ostentation of the wealthy, and Caesar began the re-organization of the finances by establishing custom-houses in Italy for foreign merchandise.

Thus the balance was kept equal among all classes; no order was raised above the others; and the State at length had a head who placed general above party interests. But these laws, as we have too often repeated, were only palliatives. Caesar had not time to make his ideas durable by embodying them in institutions. Augustus followed Caesar's example without having the same excuse, and thus, through the fault of its two founders, the Empire had innumerable laws, but no political organization.

The troubles of the last fifty years had increased to a deplorable extent the decay of agriculture and the depopulation of the country. Freemen came from all quarters to seek their fortunes at Rome, or went into the camps and provinces. Caesar forbade any citizen between the ages of twenty and forty to remain out of Italy longer than three years, save in case of military service, the duration of which he diminished. In the distribution of land he favored those who had numerous families. Three children entitled a man to the most fertile fields; we have seen that he ordered graziers to have among their shepherds at least a third of freemen,[2] and that he drove half her poor people out of Rome. This was the idea of the Gracchi, — to scatter the race of freemen into the country and make them multiply there. Sylla's colonists had very soon exchanged their land for a little money, which was quickly squandered, and the ruined soldiery had readily sold

[1] Dion, xliii. 25; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 43.

[2] Suet., *Julius Caesar*.

themselves to faction-mongers. To render the appearance of a new Catiline impossible, Caesar forbade his veterans to alienate their allotments until after twenty years' possession.[1]

There existed a perpetual cause of disorder in the disagreement between the calendar, which was calculated on the lunar year of 355 days, and the solar year of 365 days. The nobles had made use of this for their own purposes, to put forward or backward as they liked the elections and dates of expiration of public farmings. In former days the college of pontiffs had maintained the agreement between the lunar and solar years by the intercalation of a month of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately every second year; but the disturbances of the last century of the Republic had spread disorder among heavenly as well as earthly phenomena; the pontiffs had neglected the necessary precautions, and the legal year, more than two months (sixty-seven days) behind the normal one, then began in October, so that "the harvest festivals no longer fell in summer, nor those of the vintage in autumn." Caesar intrusted Sosigenes, the astronomer of Alexandria, with the task of bringing the calendar into agreement with the sun's course. It was found necessary to allow the year 45, called "the last year of the confusion," 445 days, that is to say, the sixty-seven which they were behind and the twenty-three of the usual intercalary month.[2]

Cato would have said — and those who were left of the oligarchical party did say — that all these excellent things became evils when accomplished by an individual and not by the Republic. But the Republic had for a century past been under obligation to carry out these reforms, and had not done so.

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 2. Cassius soon annulled this prohibition (*Ibid.* iii. 7).

[2] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 40. As the Julian year contained 365 days and six hours, Sosigenes settled that the common year should consist of 365 days three times following, and the fourth year of 366 days. This Julian year was too long by eleven minutes, twelve seconds, — an error which was corrected in 1582 by the Gregorian calendar. The Russians and all nations belonging to the Greek Church still make use of the Julian calendar and are at the present time twelve days behind us in their dates.

II. — War in Spain; Munda (45); Caesar's Return to Rome.

The news which arrived from different parts of the Empire interrupted this fruitful work. The ties of patronage, which at Rome had grown weaker, retained their force in the provinces, where the nobles, whom the chances of politics or war had made patrons of certain nations, were able to obtain from them assistance in aid of their enterprises. The Senate had everywhere strengthened the influence of the provincial aristocracy; but this aristocracy was less attached to the fortunes of Rome than to those of the proconsul who had had the office of organizing the province. The chief men of cities took the side of those who had conferred power upon them, under the idea that the opposite party would not fail to deprive them of it. Interests, therefore, and not ideas, determined with which side a man should belong. That at Rome it was a question of republic or monarchy, of liberty or of what the oligarchy called servitude, mattered little. Gaul was in favor of Caesar, because Caesar had there distributed offices and favors; for the like reason, Syria and Spain were for the Pompeians. They had been clients of Pompey: they retained the same position to his sons, so that a few mistakes on the part of Caesar's lieutenants sufficed to revive in those distant provinces the faction which had now so often been defeated.

In Syria the Pompeian Caecilius Brassus had driven out the governor appointed by Caesar, and was asserting himself independent. In Gaul an insurrection of the Bellovaei had been easily suppressed by Dec. Brutus, but Spain was on fire. During the Alexandrian war, Q. Cassius Longinus, the Caesarian lieutenant in Hispania Ulterior, had so exasperated the provincials by his harshness and exactions, that he narrowly escaped being assassinated in Hispalis (Seville); and two of his legions, composed of old Pompeian soldiers of Afranius, mutinied; and, had it not been for the intervention of the governor of the Citerior province, a civil war would have broken out. These events were of great moment.

The mutineers, though they had returned to their duty, nevertheless dreaded a severe punishment, and they thought the surest means of escape was to break the military oath a second time, and change sides as soon as an opportunity should occur. When the fugitives from Pharsalia re-assembled in Africa, the malcontents in Spain made secret overtures to Cato, and, in order to conduct these negotiations at less distance, Pompey's eldest son, Cnaeus, took possession of the Balearic Islands. After the battle of Thapsus, he landed in the peninsula; and his brother Sextus joined him, with Labienus and Varro from Africa. In a short time he had thirteen legions, and overcame all who tried to oppose his schemes.

At Pharsalia the nobles had united with Pompey for the purpose of destroying Caesar, intending later to reduce the former to obedience. In Africa they had fought on their own account; and, in order to make sure that the sons of their former "Agamemnon" should not reap the fruits of their perseverance, they had sent one away, and assigned to the other an obscure part. But in Spain it was the name of Pompey which had collected an army; and the watchword was no longer "Rome," or "Liberty," but "Filial Piety." Cnaeus was the general whom it had been necessary to proclaim, and it was he who, after the victory, must be master. And a stern and pitiless master he would be, ever threatening with the sword. Accordingly, many said to themselves that it was now only a question of choosing between two tyrannies, one mild, the other violent. When Caesar left Rome at the end of September, 46, he carried with him the good wishes of his former enemies.[2]

COIN OF ULIA.[1]

COIN OF ULIA.

[1] Bare head, palm, and crescent. On the reverse VLIA and olive-branches. Bronze coin.

[2] See the letter of Cassius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xv. 19) and that of Cicero to Atticus (xii. 37), where these words occur: "It is said that Sextus fled from Corduba into Hispania Citerior; Cnaeus has also fled, but I know not whither, and care very little." During this campaign he wrote to Caesar, speaking of his immortal exploits, *immortalitati laudum tuarum* (*Ad Fam.* xiii. 15 and 16); yet, in conversing with Atticus a few days later, he thought it a shame that Caesar should be allowed to live, *cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis* (*Ad Att.* xiii. 28). But this may be translated: "When to live is itself disgraceful to me."

The Pompeian legions had been formed of the soldiers of Afranius, disbanded after Lerida, of the mutineers of Longinus, the remnants of the African army, and of liberated slaves and dissolute adventurers from all lands. Of these thirteen legions four only, containing the veterans, were worth anything. These raw and ill-disciplined troops might meet the enemy well in the day of battle, but were incapable of carrying out a skilful campaign. Cnaeus, therefore, dared not lead them into Hispania Citerior to dispute the passes of the Pyrenees with Caesar. He did not even defend the difficult passes leading into the valley of the Guadalquivir (Baetis), and he allowed the Caesarians to advance as far as the neighborhood of Ulia, which he was besieging, and Corduba, which he had made his headquarters. This country offered a total contrast to that in which the last campaign had taken place; but for various reasons it was quite as difficult rapidly to strike a decisive blow by forcing an unwilling enemy to accept battle. Being mountainous, and also fertile, it afforded impregnable positions, while water and provisions were to be found everywhere. Several months elapsed in sieges[2] and skirmishes. The cruelty of Cnaeus and the dictator's impatience at being thus detained by these Pompeians, whom he had already twice crushed, gave this war a character of ferocity which the struggle had not hitherto possessed. Cnaeus put to death all suspected persons, and Caesar returned him murder for murder. The decisive action at length took place on the 17th March, 45 B.C., under the walls of Munda. The "Commentaries" are far from indicating that lassitude among the legions, which, according to ancient writers, compelled Caesar to rush bareheaded against the enemy, crying to his veterans as they were about to flee,

COIN OF CORDUBA.[1]

[1] CORDVBA; Cupid standing, holding a torch and a cornucopia. Bronze coin.

[2] Caesar compelled Cnaeus to abandon the siege of Ulia by threatening the stronghold of Ategua, which he captured, and then turned towards Hispalis: he also obtained possession of Ventispontum, and would have carried Carruca, had not Cnaeus burnt that town. Thence he continued his march towards Munda, where he was at last able to force his enemy to fight. The site of Munda is not, as has generally been believed, to the south-west of Malaga. In that direction there is no such plain as the one spoken of in the history *De Bell. Hispan.*, and, moreover, it is too far from the places where the two armies were operating. Munda was in the *conventus* of Astigi (Strabo, iii. 141, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 1). It must be looked for near Cordova, towards which Appian's narrative (*Bell. civ.* ii. 104), as well as the events following the battle (*De Bell. Hispan.* 33, 34, and 41), lead us, probably in a spot where there are still to be seen the ruins of towers and walls, between Martos, Alcaudete, Espejo, and Boena.

"Will you, then, give up your general to boys?" He lost but a thousand men. Thirty thousand Pompeians fell, among them Labienus and Varus, and the eagles of the thirteen legions were all captured.[1] Cnaeus succeeded in reaching Carteia, whence he was soon compelled to flee. Wounded in the shoulder and in the leg, he was borne from mountain to mountain in a litter. But he at length was betrayed by his men, and slain. His brother, who had not been present at the battle, succeeded in finding an asylum in the Pyrenees: he remained there till Caesar's death, and we shall see how he afterwards for a while restored the fortunes of his house.

One of the principal Pompeian leaders, Scapula, had taken refuge at Corduba. He could not count on Caesar's clemency this time: those who had ordered so many massacres must perish. Scapula knew it; he remembered Cato, and followed his example, but he died as an Epicurean. "He assembled all his followers, ordered a funeral-pile to be erected, and a magnificent supper served up; when, putting on his richest dress, he distributed his plate and ready money among his domestics, supped cheerfully, anointed himself once and again, and, last of all, ordered one of his freedmen to despatch him, and another to set fire to the pile."[2] These pleasure-loving and sanguinary men, accustomed to gratify all their passions, had no longer anything to live for when adversity overtook them: they departed, accepting, according to their master's advice, a lesser evil, annihilation, to avoid suffering, which was worse.[3]

Of the men who, full of hopes and threats, sat in 49 in the Republican Senate at Thessalonica, but very few were left; and those who had survived so many combats invoked the clemency of Caesar. "Thus ended in a sea of blood," says an English historian, "the Civil war which the senators had undertaken against Caesar in order to escape the reforms with which his second consulship threatened them. These men had done their

[1] This was the last of Caesar's battles, which, according to Nicolaus Damascenus, were three hundred in number, and this author adds (which is not quite true) that the dictator had never once been defeated.

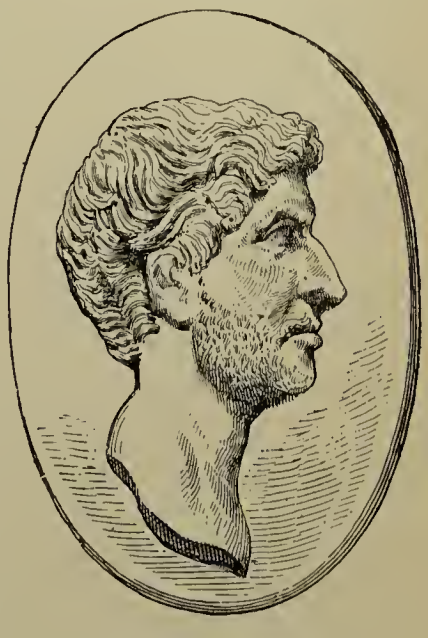
[2] *Bell. Hisp.* 33. This book is unfortunately not completed. The last act of the war which it relates is the taking of the two cities of Munda and Ursao. Of the former of these, only the name remains; of the latter, which was colonized by Caesar, nothing but a few ruins. But from these ruins there has just emerged the most precious of epigraphic monuments, the *bronzes of Osuna*, containing a portion of the municipal constitution of the city.

[3] See vol. ii. pp. 270, 271, note 6, the *Ethics of Epicurus*.

country a service, however, by rendering forever impossible that Republican constitution in which elections were a mockery, the tribunals an insult to justice, and the provinces the feeding-grounds of a gluttonous aristocracy."

At Rome official enthusiasm burst forth anew at the tidings of these successes. The Senate decreed fifty days of thanksgivings, and recognized Caesar's right to extend the pomoerium, since he had extended the limits of the Empire. Decrees engraved in letters of gold upon silver tables, and deposited at the feet of the Capitoline Jupiter, declared that "the dictator shall retain in all places the triumphal apparel and laurel wreath; he shall be called the 'father of his country,' and the day of his birth shall be celebrated by sacrifices. Every year the Republic shall offer solemn vows for him; his Fortune shall be the sanction of an oath; and every five years games shall be given in his honor." After Thapsus he was made a demi-god; after Munda he was a god outright. A statue was erected to him in the Temple of Quirinus, with the inscription, "To the invincible god;" and a college of priests, the Julii, was consecrated to him. Was it by design that his statue was also placed beside those of the kings, between Tarquin the Proud and the elder Brutus? Some saw therein a threat and a foreboding; but the greater number thought it an honor. Was not Caesar a second Romulus? The Senate at least declared so by ordaining that on the Palilia, with the anniversary of the foundation of the city, there should be celebrated that of the victory of Munda, the second birth of Rome. A new era was in fact beginning; and let us not accuse these men too freely of

CAESAR, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.[1]



THE ELDER BRUTUS.[2]

[1] CAESAR PARENS PATRIAE; head of Julius Caesar crowned with laurels, and veiled between the *apex* and the *lituus*. This coin is of later date than the one on p. 508.

[2] The elder Brutus, from a beautiful engraved amethyst of the Augustan age (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2111).

shameful baseness when we hear them calling Caesar the liberator, and dedicating a temple to Liberty. Had he not freed the world from anarchy and plunder? Repose, order, security — did not these imply, too, a needful liberty?

On the 13th September, the dictator appeared at the gates of Rome; but he did not celebrate his triumph till the beginning of October. This time there was no barbarian king or chief to veil the victories won over citizens. But Caesar thought he had no longer need to keep up such consideration: since he was now the State, his enemies, whatever name they bore, must be enemies to the State. And so the festivals, the games and feasting of the preceding year, began again with perhaps greater magnificence.[1] The people had complained of not being able to witness everything; strangers, of not hearing all. The games were divided; each quarter of the city had its own, and each nation comedies in its own language. This was only fair: was not Rome now the fatherland of all nations? Let all the tongues of the world be heard, then, in the world's capital, as the men and things of all lands are seen there. There Cleopatra now holds her court in Caesar's garden beyond the Tiber, where Cicero ventured to show himself.[2] There Moorish kings and Asiatic princes have their ambassadors. It is the concourse of nations at the foot of the rising throne. They come to salute the "saving god;" and their eager glances follow neither the races in the circus, nor the games in the amphitheatre, but the ancient powers, erewhile so dreaded, which now appear in their humiliation, — knights, senators, and even a tribune of the people descending into the arena. Laberius played as a mime in one of his own pieces. "Alas!" said the old poet in his prologue, "after sixty years of a spotless life, I have left my house a knight, and shall re-enter it a mime. I have lived a day too long." We need not bestow too much pity on his lot. On returning home, he found there five hundred thousand sesterces which Caesar had promised, and his gold ring which was restored to him.[3]

[1] In all these pleasures Caesar took part as little as possible: at the games he read despatches, and dictated answers (Suet., *Octav.* 45).

[2] He even begged of the queen some Egyptian curiosities, and she refused him, which stung him to the quick (*Ad Att.* xv. 15).

[3] The profession of mime ranked amongst the *infames*. Laberius was a Pompeian, and had a sharp tongue: it may be that Caesar, when he asked him to play one of his own pieces,

III. — Clemency of Caesar; his Dictatorship; Extent of his Powers; Continuation of Reforms; his Projects.

It was expected that Caesar, having suffered so many outrages, would now punish severely; and Cicero, who had always doubted his clemency, believed that tyranny would break out as soon as the tyrant was above fear. But jealousies, recollections of party strifes, did not reach to the height whereon Caesar now stood. The conqueror of Pharsalia, the nephew of Marius, gave place to the representative of the Roman world, all whose glory became, like Rome itself, his inheritance. He restored the statues of Sylla; he replaced that of Pompey on the rostra,[1] as he had formerly set up again in the Capitol the trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri; he pardoned Cassius, who had tried to assassinate him, and the ex-consul Marcellus who had stirred up war against him, and Quintus Ligarius who had betrayed him in Africa. As a temporary precaution, however, he forbade to the Pompeians, by a *lex Hirtia*, admission to the magistracy.[3]

TEMPLE ERECTED TO CAESAR'S CLEMENCY.[2]

For his authority, Caesar sought no new forms. Sylla, believing that the Republic could be saved by laws, had remodelled the whole constitution without making any change in the real situation of the State; Caesar, who founded a new *régime*, seemed to preserve the ancient laws intact. The Senate, the comitia, the magistracies,

wanted to revenge himself for some mischievous words. The poet retaliated in his play by these threatening words: *Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent* (Macrobius, *Saturn.* II. iii. 10, and vii. 3). But he also said, less haughtily, in his prologue, "I have obeyed the humble, gentle, and flattering prayer of an illustrious man. Could I refuse anything to one whom the gods have refused nothing?" When he wished to resume his seat amongst the knights, they closed up so that he could not find it; and Cicero cried, "I would gladly offer you room if I were not too crowded." To which Laberius replied, "True, you always require two stools."

[1] Plutarch, *Caesar*, 63. *Nunquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat* (Cicero, *Ad Fam.* vi. 6.)

[2] CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS surrounding a tetrastyle temple. Reverse of a silver coin of Julius Caesar.

[3] Cic., *Philipp.* xiii. 16.

existed as before, only he centred all public action in himself alone by uniting in his own hands all the Republican offices.

The instrument which Caesar used to give to his power legal sanction was the Senate. In former times the general, after the triumph, laid aside his title of "Imperator" and the imperium, which included absolute authority over the army, all judicial power and the administrative functions: Caesar, by a decree of the Senate, retained both the title and the authority during life, with the right of drawing freely from the treasury.[2] His dictatorship and his office of *praefectus morum* were declared perpetual: the consulship was offered him for ten years; but this he would not accept. To this executive authority the Senate sought to unite electoral power, offering him the right of appointment in all curule and plebeian offices. He reserved for himself merely the privilege of naming half the magistracy, being quite certain that no one would dare canvass the other offices against his will. The Senate had enjoined magistrates elect to swear before entering on office, that they would undertake nothing contrary to the dictator's acts, these having the force of law. Further, they gave to his person the legal inviolability of the tribunes, and, in order to insure this, knights and senators offered to serve as guards, while the whole Senate took an oath to watch over his safety.

CAESAR, DICTATOR FOR LIFE.[1]

To the reality of power were added the outward signs. In the Senate, at the theatre, in the circus, on his tribunal, he sat, dressed in royal robes, on a golden throne, and his effigy was stamped on the coins, where the Roman magistrates had never yet ventured to engrave more than their names.[3] They even went as far as talking of succession, as in a regular monarchy. His title of "Imperator" and the sovereign pontificate were transmissible to his legitimate or adopted children;[4] and, as he had neither, a hare-brained poet is said to have thought of proposing a law to allow Caesar to marry any woman who might appear able to give him

[1] CAESAR DICT. IN PERPETVO; head of Julius Caesar, veiled, and crowned with laurel.

[2] Cf. Dion, xliii. 55; *Ibid.* 47; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41, 84; Dion, xliv. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 106, 145, for the facts in the text.

[3] Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 7.

[4] Dion, xliii. 44, and xliv. 5.

a son.[1] It was suggested that his image should be placed in the Temple of Quirinus, with this inscription, Θεος Ἀνίκητος ("To the invincible god"), and to raise another to Clemency, where his statue might be placed by the side of that of the goddess, each holding the other's hand. Caesar was not deceived by the secret perfidy which prompted such servilities, and he valued them as they deserved. But his enemies found therein fresh reasons for hating the great man who had saved them.

EMBLEMS OF THE PONTIFICATE.[2]

To recapitulate: as dictator for life, he had the executive power, and entire command of the public funds; as imperator, he had the military authority; the tribunitian power gave him the right of veto in all cases of legislation; as prince of the Senate, he directed that assembly's debates; as *praefectus morum*, he composed it at his pleasure; as pontifex maximus, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests, and controlled its ministers. He had control, therefore, of the finances, of the army, of religion, of the executive power, of a part of the judicial authority, of half of the electoral power, and indirectly of nearly all of the legislative authority. Add to this that these prerogatives were limited neither in respect to time (for he held them for life) nor space (for he exercised them everywhere, even in Rome itself), and that he had no colleague whose action might interfere with what he chose to do.

In this concentration of all public offices in the hands of Caesar, the old magistracies resembled the images of ancestors preserved in the halls of consular houses, a fair and dignified array of empty and lifeless forms. The Senate had likewise sunk from its character of supreme council of the Republic into that of a committee of consultation, which the master often forgot to consult. The Civil war had decimated it; Caesar appointed to it

[1] *Uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa, quas et quot vellet ducere liceret* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 85). In the first place the law was not brought forward. Only the tribune Helvius Cinna was suspected of having had the intention of doing so; secondly, divorce was very common at Rome, and Cinna had doubtless been inspired by the example of Hortensius asking Cato to give up his wife to him that he might have children by her, *liberorum quaerendorum causa*. The monstrous thing in the law proposed by Cinna was the compulsory divorce. Sylla had in a few cases carried his tyranny to this extreme; but that would have been no excuse for Caesar, who had himself refused to obey the all-powerful dictator's order on this very matter.

[2] *Lituus*, sprinkler, axe, and *apex*. Reverse of a silver coin of the Julian family.

brave soldiers, even sons of freedmen who had served him well, and a considerable number of provincials, Spaniards, and Gauls of Gallia Narbonensis, who had long been Romans. He had so many services to reward, that his Senate reached the number of nine hundred members.[1] The pride of the nobles avenged itself by raillery. "The Gauls," said they, "have changed their *braccae* for the laticlave;" and notices were posted up in the streets begging the people not to show the new Conscript Fathers the way to the curia. But these senators were docile; they did without a murmur all that the master wished, and even more than he wished; they were not offended when senatus-consulta, resolved upon by Caesar alone or by the privy council convened in his house, were published in their name. One day Cicero received the thanks of a prince of Asia, who professed to have received from the orator his title, but of whose very existence Cicero knew nothing. He laughed, for he had conformed himself to the times; and half consoled by the royalty which he always held, that of intellect, he showed his regrets only by sarcastic jests. This character of witty critic delighted Caesar; it refreshed him after the adulation. Every morning Cicero's witticisms were reported to him, and he made a collection of them. One day he invited himself to dinner at Cicero's house,[3] and was delightful, his host says; but the conversation was altogether on literary subjects. Much as he loved wit, the old ex-consul, who had always considered himself a statesman, was nettled that not a word should be said of serious matters.

CAESAR, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.[2]

On one occasion the Senate came in a body to the Temple of Venus

[1] Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Afric.* 28; Dion, xlii. 51, and xliii. 27, 47: . . . *μηδὲν διακρίνων, μήτ' εἴ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπελευθέρου παῖς ἦν* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* vi. 12; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76); *quosdam e semi-barbaris Gallorum.* Sylla had already brought the number of senators up to six hundred (Suet., *Ibid.* 80); *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit* (Dion, xliii. 27; Cic., *Ad Fam.* ix. 15).

[2] CAESAR IM. P(ontifex) M (aximus); a crescent behind Caesar's head crowned with laurel.

[3] In the account Cicero gave to Atticus of that day (xiii. 52), he said of Caesar: *Accubuit, ἐμετικὴν agebat; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et jucunde.* Many moderns are in the habit of exciting the appetite before going to table, or of stimulating it afresh by a sherbet taken in the middle of the repast. The means are different: the end is the same, — to eat more than is necessary. But the Roman proceeding is singularly disgusting: *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant* (Sen., *Cons. ad. Helv.* 9). With all their elegancies, this nation combined remarkable coarseness. Cicero and his contemporaries thought the thing quite natural and a politeness to the host on the part of the guest, in order to honor the feast.

Genitrix to present to Caesar certain decrees drawn up in his honor. The demi-god, being ill, did not rise from his seat to receive them. This was imprudent, for the report spread that he had not deigned to rise. Had he treated the Senate with some respect, he would perhaps have succeeded in making it regarded as the legal representative of the people, and he would have added more authority to his own rule. This mistake Augustus never made.

He had already increased the membership of the sacerdotal colleges, and the number of praetors, quaestors, and aediles.[1] He could not appoint more than two consuls; but the new theory of substituted consuls allowed him to give this high office to several persons in one year. The consul Fabius died on the 31st of December, 45; in a few hours the year would be ended: nevertheless a successor was appointed. "What a vigilant consul!" exclaimed Cicero: "during his whole magistracy he has never slept." Caesar even went further than this, allowing persons to display consular and praetorian insignia without having held the office.

Very few patricians remained: never had consul or dictator created them; it was a kingly, almost a divine right. Caesar created some,[2] — a privilege apparently very important, but without real political significance, for it merely served to prevent certain religious functions, by the rapid extinction of the ancient *gentes*, from ceasing to be performed. His nephew, the young Octavius, received at this time his patent of nobility: Cicero, the burgher of Arpinum, yielded to temptation and took his. Even the triumph lost its high character. Only a general-in-chief had had the right of obtaining it: Caesar now granted it to his lieutenants. It was a religious infraction, for a lieutenant fought under the auspices of his chief. But Caesar, who believed neither in auspices nor in gods, believed in talent, and gave the reward to him who had deserved it. Nor had he more respect for the religious formalities of the Forum. One day, when the auspices had been taken for the assembling of the tribes, he convoked the centuries instead.

[1] Sixteen praetors, forty quaestors, six aediles, sixteen pontiffs, as many augurs, and as many quindecemvirs (Dion, xliii. 47). By raising the number of quaestors to forty, Caesar introdueed into the Senate forty new members every year.

[2] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41. Dion (Hal. i. 85) says that in his day there were not more than fifty families of Trojan origin left.

The people still had their comitia; they made laws and conferred office: outwardly they were still the sovereign power; but life was lacking in their assemblies, for the candidates knew well that it was Caesar's favor that must be gained rather than the people's. Some of them had lately been known to go as far as Spain to canvass for the dictator's support.

An important innovation was the institution of *legati pro praetore*. Hitherto the legionary tribunes in succession commanded the whole legion for two months each; the legate now became its permanent chief. This was a necessary concentration of command; and these legates, appointed by the Imperator, were better able to secure the execution of his orders and the discipline and fidelity of the army.[1]

The Romans were great builders, and this taste their new master shared with them. The Forum, at the foot of the Capitol, was the true centre of the city; there for six centuries the heart of old Rome had throbbed, and there her most sumptuous buildings had been erected;[2] Caesar removed the comitia, relegating them to the *Septa Julia* in the Campus Martius, immense porticos capable of sheltering twenty-five thousand persons; and persons who had civil suits he sent to the Julian Forum, which he had built for them, placing in it a white marble temple of Venus Genitrix, the founder of his race. The Forum being thus cleared, he proposed to make it the most magnificent public place in the world; but already his days were numbered.

There remains to us an important monument of Caesar's legislation, — that municipal law whose name so often recurs in the Digest, which shows, notwithstanding its fragmentary condition, that this powerful mind perceived the need of supplying to the Italian cities the elements of a common organization in order to make of them a homogeneous whole. This law is not drawn up in the interest of any party; for to Caesar there no longer existed any party but the State. He leaves to the cities their free elections and their own jurisdiction; he excludes from their Senate

[1] This was no doubt the time of the legal suppression of the appointment of military tribunes by the people, — a rule which, since the commencement of the civil wars, must have fallen into desuetude.

[2] The engraving (next page) gives the three columns of the Temple of Vespasian, the arch of Septimius Severus, and the eight columns of the Temple of Saturn.

THE ROMAN FORUM.

every man whose honor was tarnished, not making arbitrary decisions against persons, but indicating in advance what would be considered cases of unworthiness; he prescribes to them sanitary measures required by the public health; lastly, he orders them to make a quinquennial census which will furnish a sure basis for the allotment of local taxes. In ordering the result of this census to be sent to Rome, he gives the means of assigning to every Italian the century in which he should vote, — a measure of order; and perhaps he furnishes the municipalities with a method by which to stop the abuses arising in the administration of their finances, — a measure of justice.[1]

Against the absolute power of kings in modern times we have the representative system. Against the despotism of the emperors the Romans had long possessed municipal liberties, which almost sufficed for the good administration of city affairs, because in the early Empire the ruler governed and did not administer. Caesar's law, the *lex Julia*, which has undoubtedly served as a model for much legislation in colonies and municipalities, was therefore a benefit to the nations, since it aided in the development of that strong municipal life which for more than two centuries caused the prosperity of the provinces.[2]

It has another character; it marks the revolution then going on. Made for Italy, it was also made for Rome, so that the city to which the oligarchy had attempted to confine the whole Republic,

[1] Under the Empire, a *magister a censibus*, or a *magister a libellis*, received the requests for reduction of taxes addressed to the prince (L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.* pp. 46–70).

[2] The two tables of bronze found in 1732, in the bed of the Cavonus in Lucania, called the Tables of Heraclea, which date from the year 45, are unfortunately very incomplete. The first chapters which remain to us prescribe the formalities to be observed in order to participate in the distributions of the annona, the attention to be paid to the keeping in repair of the streets, the causeways, and the footpaths, for the circulation of vehicles, the removal of mud and refuse, the public leases, etc. It is, in a word, a regulation of municipal magistracy for Rome and the towns of Italy. Next come the provisions relating to the *curiae*, or municipal senates, the members of which were elected for life, like the Roman senators, and the conditions to be fulfilled in canvassing the decurionate (thirty years of age, three years' service in the cavalry, or six in the infantry), the long list of those whom the law declares incapable of holding any public office, — the herald, the undertaker or his assistant, the insolvent debtor, the man convicted of fraud, the slanderer, the *prevaricator*, those who have been expelled from the army, those who have hired themselves to fight in the arena, and all those whom we afterwards find in the categories of the *humiliores* of the Digest. Lastly, the eleventh section requires the municipal officers to send to Rome, within sixty days from the time the enumeration was made, the census of their municipality, which was to be executed according to the formula drawn up for Rome.

whence the Senate was to hold sway forever over Italy and the provinces, became itself an Italian municipality. Rome continued to be the residence of the imperator, of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal colleges, the city of marble palaces and golden statues; she remained the capital of the Empire, but she was no longer the sovereign city. The Italians had the same rights as her citizens, with analogous institutions; many of the provincials were already in the same condition; and when Caesar is in Spain, in Africa, or in Asia, the whole government is there with him. The transformation which we have set forth as necessary since the wars of Samnium and of Pyrrhus is, therefore, in course of accomplishment.

If to these laws we add another, *de Sacerdotiis*, now lost, which is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters, and of which we find one provision in the bronzes of Osuna, we shall see that Caesar had included the whole of the Roman institutions in his vast scheme of reform.

Thus in reality everything was changed, but, viewed from a distance, it seemed that very few things were new. Caesar's royalty resembled that of Pompey, of Sylla, of Marius, even of C. Graechus. No court, no guards, surrounded the master; he dwelt in the *Regia*, the residence of the chief pontiff, living there amidst a few friends whose faithfulness he had long since proved, — Lepidus and Antony, to whom he had intrusted Rome and Italy during his first war in Spain; Hirtius, the writer of the eighth book of "The Gallic Wars;" C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus of Gades, the confidants of his most secret thoughts; the Roman knight Mamurra, commander of the engineers (*praefectus fabrum*), and others. Freedmen drew up despatches, of which the substance had been given them in clear and exact memoranda. This government of sixty million men was carried on in a few rooms.

The old noblesse remained apart, not from honors, but from power; and they forgot neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus. They would have consented to obey on condition of having the appearance of commanding. This disguised obedience is more convenient for an able government than outward servility. A few concessions made to vanity obtain tranquil possession of power. This was the policy of Augustus; but it is not that of great ambitions or of

the true statesman. These pretences leave everything doubtful; nothing is determined, nothing established; and Caesar proposed to lay the foundations of a government which should bring a new order out of the chaos of ruins. Unless too much importance has been given to mere anecdotes, he desired the royal diadem. The consulship, the dictatorship, the office of *praefectus morum*, all this, even the life tenure of them, seemed still to belong to the Republic; the name of king would have introduced monarchy, heredity in power, order in administration, unity in law. It is difficult not to believe that Caesar considered the constituting of a monarchical power as the rational conclusion of the revolution which he was carrying out. In this way may be explained the persistence of his friends in offering him a title odious to the Romans, who were quite ready to accept the monarch, but not the monarchy.[1] One morning, a wreath of laurel with the royal diadem[2] attached was seen on Caesar's statue before the rostra. Two tribunes tore them down and imprisoned those who had placed them there. Another day, when he had been present at the great Latin festival on the Alban Mount, among the shouts which greeted his progress was heard the name of king. "I am not king," said he, "but Caesar." The tribunes again caused the offenders to be seized. This time Caesar was displeased with their excessive zeal; he accused them in the Senate of having anticipated his justice, and they were deposed from office notwithstanding their inviolability.

No one was deceived as to the motive of this anger. At the festival of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February, 44, the dictator, his head encircled with a wreath of laurel, sat in his golden chair before the rostra. Antony, at this time consul-elect, drew from beneath his girdle a diadem and offered it to him, saying: "This is what the Roman people send thee." The crowd remained almost silent; Caesar thrust it aside, and then applause broke forth. Antony offered it again, and a second time he rejected it; upon which the loudest expressions of approval rang throughout all the Forum. "Jupiter," said Caesar, "is the only king of the

[1] Cic., *Philipp.* ii. 34; Dion, xliv. 11.

[2] [The diadem was a white linen band or fillet worn around the head, — the symbol of Oriental sovereignty. — *Ed.*]

Romans; to him this diadem belongs." Then he caused it to be carried to the Capitol and suspended in the temple of the god. In the Fasti he commanded it to be written that the Roman people by one of their consuls had offered him a diadem, and that he had refused it. But at the same time the report spread that the Sibylline Books, on being consulted, had replied that the Parthians would be conquered only by a king.

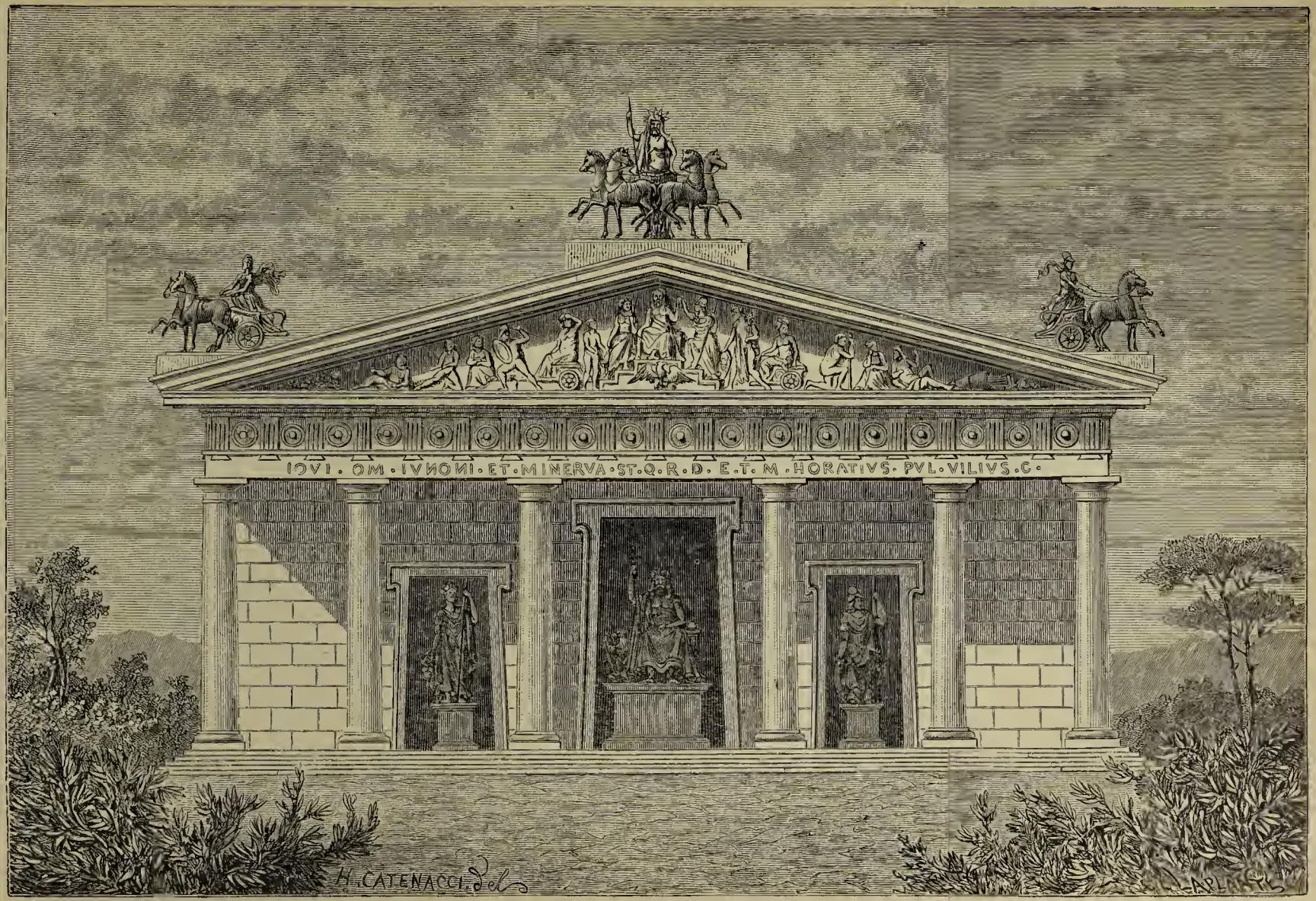
In order to attain this royal title, the culmination of all others, or rather, in order to cover the power gained in civil war by renown acquired in a national one, Caesar must go still higher, and this new greatness he would seek in the East. Grave events were taking place in the valley of the Danube. An able chief, Byrebistas, assisted by the high priest of Zalmoxis, had just effected among the Getae a political and religious revolution. He had united all their tribes into one national body, had caused all the vines of the country to be destroyed in order to condemn the inhabitants to sobriety, and had subjected to the severest discipline these men who believed that by dying in battle they were sure of a blissful immortality. Already he had crossed the Danube at the head of two hundred thousand men. Towns had been laid in ashes; multitudes of men, women, and children had been carried off to the foot of the Carpathians to cultivate the fields of their new masters; Thrace, Macedon, and Illyria trembled.[2] To stop this invasion was not the same thing as the mad project which has been attributed to Caesar of attempting to subjugate the whole barbarian world. It was to contend with a new Ariovistus, more formidable than the first, and by his defeat to secure the frontier of the Danube, as the defeat of the Suevi had secured that of the Rhine.

COIN OF CAESAR OF THE YEAR 44.[1]

Into Asia other reasons summoned him. It was meet that he should wipe out the second military humiliation of Rome after effacing the first; that he should avenge Crassus, recapture in conquered Ctesiphon the eagles of the legions, and restore to

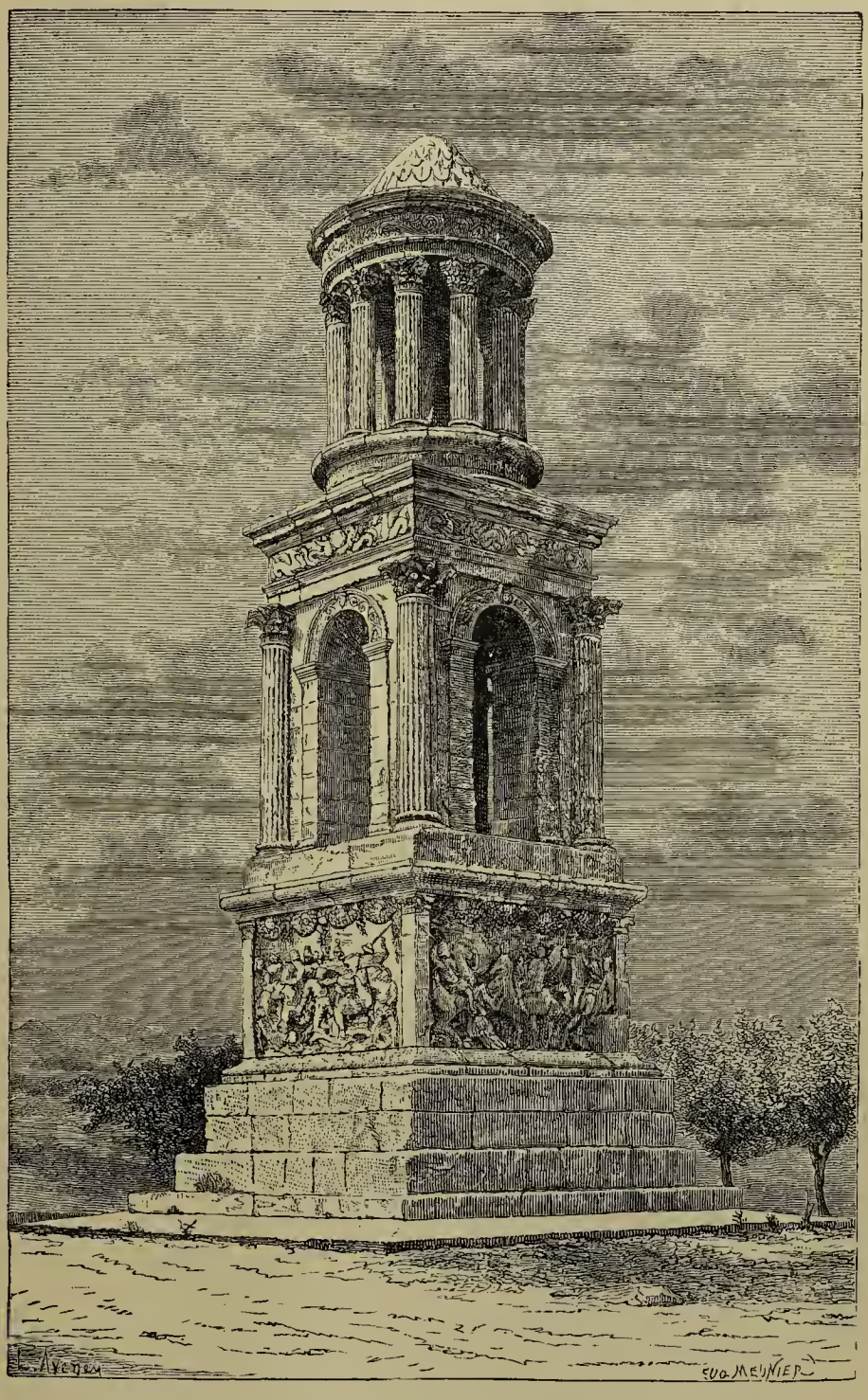
[1] That is to say, after Caesar had obtained the right to put his image on the coinage. CAESAR DICT. QVART.; head of Caesar crowned with laurel; behind it, the *lituus*.

[2] Strabo, vii. 3, 5, and 11; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 44. Byrebistas was killed in an insurrection about the time of Caesar's death, and the Getan empire fell with him.



TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (CANINA'S RESTORATION).

their home the Romans in captivity among barbarians. This war was popular at Rome. When Caesar returned from Munda,



MAUSOLEUM OF JULIUS (SEE ITS BAS-RELIEFS, PP. 321, 322).

Cicero, who is often an echo of public opinion, prepared a letter in which he congratulated the dictator on his successes in Spain,

and promised him still greater at the other extremity of the world.[1] The nobles approved of this expedition, during which a Parthian arrow might perhaps do what the sword of a Gaul had not done, and it is not to outrage Cicero's inmost sentiments if we suppose that this homicidal idea, which had occurred to him more than once, crept in under his brilliant panegyric, as Cleopatra's asp was hidden among flowers. But this war pleased Caesar's virile genius, his soldierly instincts, and his ideas of policy. This work accomplished, the great captain, having watered his horse at the Danube and the Tigris, as formerly at the Thames and the African rivers, could return to assume in his Babylon of the West the crown of Alexander, or, failing that, bring all men to recognize the necessity for so vast an empire, of a monarchical government, by whatever name its monarch might be called. Then, peaceful master of the world, he proposed to cut the Isthmus of Corinth, to drain the Pontine Marshes, to pierce the mountains enclosing Lake Fucinus, and throw across the Apennines a high road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan Sea. Rome, the capital of this universal empire, was to be enlarged by all the space that the Tiber would yield diverted from its bed at the Pons Milvius and flowing to the west of the Janiculum. In the Vatican plain was to be erected a colossal temple to Mars; at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock, an immense amphitheatre; at Ostia, a broad, safe harbor was to be made.[2]

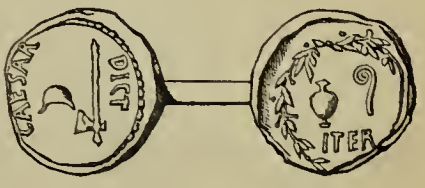
But these were to be the least of his labors. Convinced of the need of organizing this assemblage of nations, which the sword had joined together but the law kept asunder, it was his design to collect and arrange all the Roman laws in a single code, in order to facilitate and to spread the knowledge of them everywhere. Already one of his intimate friends, the learned jurisconsult Aulus Ofilius, had undertaken a codification of the praetorian edicts,[3] and he himself had caused to be prepared for Italy the municipal law which all the provincial cities were to copy. To

[1] *Ad Att.* xiii. 27 and 30.

[2] Plut., *Caesar*, 58; Dion, xliii. 50; xliv. 5; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 44.

[3] *Is fuit Caesari familiarissimus libros de jure civili plurimos reliquit. . . . Edictum praetoris primus diligenter composuit* (*Dig.* i. 2, 2, 44). Salvius Julianus resumed this work under Hadrian.

secure the provinces against senatorial exactions, he forbade the senators to visit them without an official commission, and he paid the governors, that they might not pay themselves by continuing the extortions of former times.[1] He remembered that a consul of his name and his race gave the Roman citizenship to Italians; and though the time had not come for bestowing the same right on all subjects, he at least increased the Roman element amongst them, sending eighty thousand colonists to carry across the seas the customs and language of Rome. The whole of Sicily was about to obtain the *jus Latii;* the right of citizenship was conferred on the Transpadani,[2] on the legion of "the Lark,"[3] on all who had served him faithfully, even on Jews. On the banks of the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhone numbers of Gauls bore his name, and perhaps before this time one of these families had erected in his honor a beautiful building, the mausoleum of the Julii, recalling their gratitude and his battles.



AUREUS OF CAESAR.[4]

He had rewards for those who had been useful to him in time of war, admitting to his Senate many provincials; he had rewards too for those who were useful in peace, he gave the citizenship to foreign physicians and professors of the liberal arts settled at Rome, that is to say, to the aristocracy of intellect, as the Senate had

[1] Dion, lii. 15.

[2] He gave them the right of citizenship and a municipal constitution (Dion, xli. 36). In 42 the Transpadane obtained the *jus Italicum*, that is to say, exemption from the land-tax and from military service. It still retained, however, its character of province for some time, for Manius reproaches Octavius with having taken it away from Antony by declaring it free (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 3, and 22; Dion, xlviii. 12). The number of citizens, which was only, according to *Epit.* xcviii. of Livy, four hundred and fifty thousand in the year 70, had increased tenfold in the year 28. Some writers double the figure of the year 70; still the increase is enormous, and must be attributed to Caesar for the most part.

[3] The soldiers of this legion were called *Alaudae*, the Larks, *ex legione Alaudarum*, says Cicero (*Philipp.* i. 8, etc.).

[4] The *aureus* of Caesar was worth $5.18, and was coined in enormous quantities. It was of pure metal, exact weight, and was put in circulation for its real value, which fact, after the monetary disturbances of recent times, caused it to be received with great favor. We say the *aureus* was worth $5.18 because it contained 121.26 grains of fine metal. Only one estimate of the value of coins is really possible, that of their intrinsic value found by aid of weighing and chemical analyses which make known the quantity of fine metal they contain. As to their exchange value, it is very difficult to fix, seeing that the proportion of value between metals is constantly changing in consequence of the abundance of one and the rarity of another, and because the power of exchange, that is to say, the quantity of merchandise one can obtain with a certain sum, is not the same, either in all ages or even all the localities of a country.

formerly granted it to the aristocracy of the Latin cities. A fragment of Gaius (I. 33) tells us that the *jus quiritium* was guaranteed to the provincial who devoted a part of his patrimony to the construction of a public edifice. This law, which covered the Roman world with monuments, appears to be borrowed from Caesar's *lex Julia*.

LEPIDUS.[1]

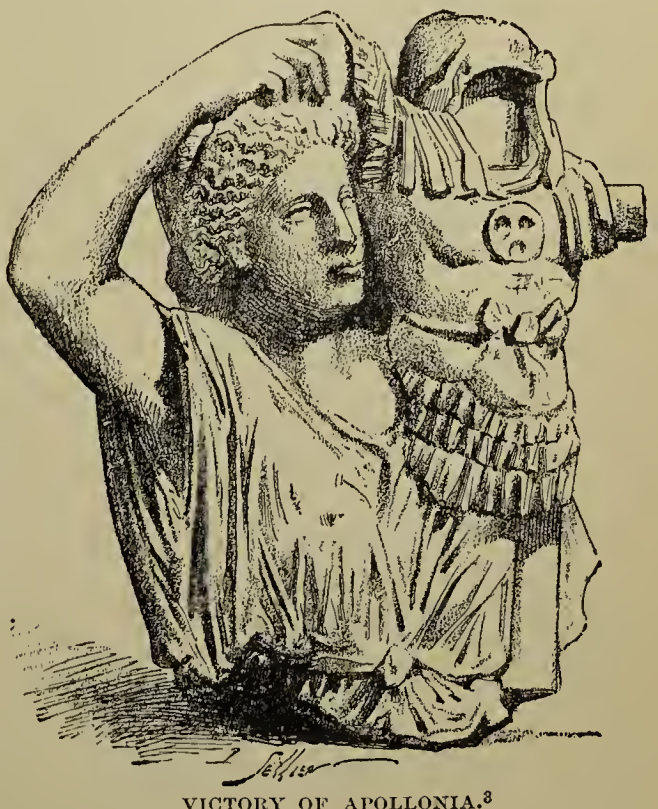
During the African war the dictator had seen in a dream a large army weeping and demanding back from him their fatherland; on his awakening he wrote on his tablets the names of Corinth and Carthage. These two ruined cities testified to the vengeance of the Senate; and he restored them. Thus great injustices were repaired, ties multiplied, reconciliations effected. Long ago the Hellenic divinities had received citizenship at Rome; the writers who had made the glory of foreign nations were now in their turn to obtain it. Varro was charged to collect in a public library all the productions of human thought, in order that Rome might be also the metropolis of intellect. After their gods and their great men, would come the people's turn.

With this noble design of reparation and unity were connected: a monetary reform, which made the *aureus* of Caesar the most convenient coin for commerce, and the standard of value under the

[1] Bust of the triumvir Lepidus found at Tor Sapienza. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 106.)

Empire; a reform of the calendar so thoroughly accomplished that, with a slight modification, the Julian calendar is still used by us;[1] lastly, the order given to three Greek geometers to make a measurement of the whole Roman world, and draw up a register of the survey, — a work preliminary to the re-organization of the provincial and financial administration.[2]

To accomplish things like these, time was necessary, and Caesar had lost more than a quarter of a century in rising to the first rank. But he was now only fifty-seven. He might, therefore, hope that years enough yet lay before him to enable him to complete his great designs. His preparations for the Parthian war were finished; he had distributed the offices and provinces for three years (44–42): Antonius was his colleague in the consulship, and he had promised Dolabella to resign to him his own consulship when he should set out for Asia; Hirtius and Pansa were to have the fasces in 43; Decimus Brutus and Numatius Plancus in 42. Brutus and Cassius were praetors; Lepidus was to resign to Domitius Calvinus the office of master of the horse in order to take the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior; Asinius Pollio received that of Hispania Ulterior; the other provinces were also distributed. Sixteen legions had crossed the Adriatic, and the young Octavius, his adopted son, awaited him at Apollonia; a few days more and Caesar would have been in the midst of his faithful veterans. A report spread that before leaving Rome he



VICTORY OF APOLLONIA.[3]

[1] See p. 514.

[2] This work, continued after Caesar's time, was employed in preparing the famous chart of Agrippa (pl. lii. 3) and to assess the taxes in a much fairer way according to the nature of the lands. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. 2.)

[3] Museum of the Louvre.

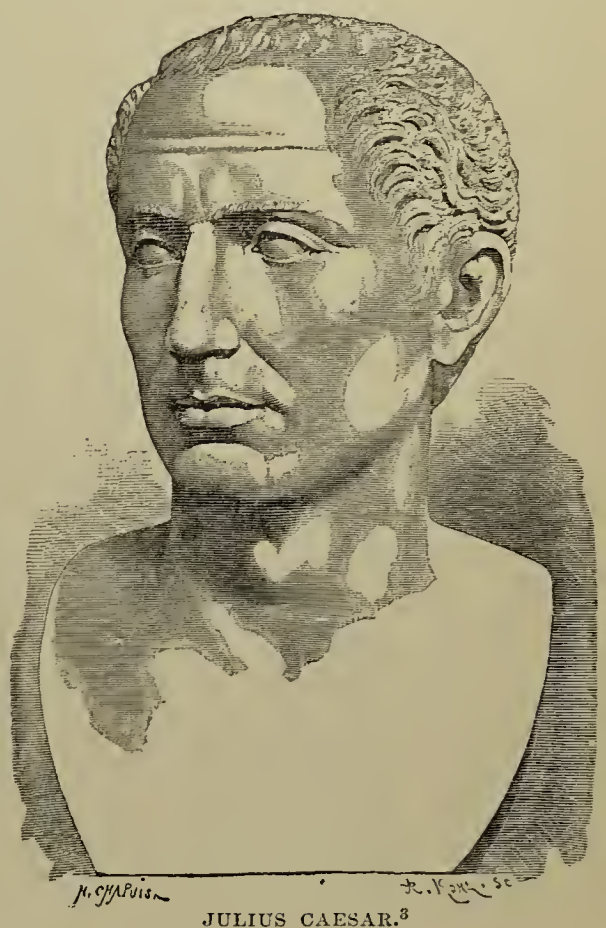
would make a last effort with the Senate, and that, at the session announced for the ides of March, it would be discussed whether Caesar, while remaining dictator in Italy, could not, in the provinces, wear the diadem as king of the conquered nations. This day of the ides, which was destined in the opinion of the last of the republicans to establish tyranny forever, they fixed upon for the day of expiation.

IV. — Conspiracy; Assassination of Caesar.

The swords broken at Pharsalia, at Thapsus, and at Munda were about to be exchanged for daggers. For several months a conspiracy had been in existence; all the republicans had not fallen in the battles of the Civil war, and there were some of them surrounding Caesar and even among his friends.

The party was composed of malecontents whose services had not been rewarded according to their wishes, and of men sated with wealth and honors, who had nothing more to expect from Caesar and who thought it desirable to be rid of a chief who, himself alone, occupied so great a space. Along with these men were enthusiasts to whom the Republic was a religion, and theorists who gave themselves up to empty speculations instead of observing facts. Then came the brawlers of the Forum, who could no longer arrive at power by seditious harangues, and the conservatives whose interests and habits resented every innovation, even the most necessary. Resigned beforehand to be the booty of the conqueror, they were none the less Republican at heart, like Atticus, the perfect type of an egotist, who from Sylla to Augustus was able to live through so many of the Civil wars and proscriptions without losing fortune or life. Others, who had been consuls, praetors, and governors of provinces, and had each enjoyed his two or three years of sovereignty, could not reconcile themselves — they, the conquerors of the world — to the idea of falling into the condition of those servile Oriental nations, always prostrate at the feet of one man. Among them were very honest men, Cicero, for example, who had made his fortune by speeches and whom silence

exasperated.[1] Deprived of the opportunity of speaking, he wrote gloomy books, such as the first Tusculan on the contempt of death, which implied that it was not possible to live under the government of Caesar. Other persons appointed to high offices showed in private the same displeasure, while all the time they were in liberal enjoyment of the master's favor. Such were Turfanius, commander in Sicily, Cornificius in Africa, Servilius Isauricus in Asia, Sulpicius in Greece. They discussed confidentially the misfortunes of the Republic, and one of them, to console Cicero on the death of his daughter, wrote to him: "Fortune has deprived us of the possessions which we ought to love as much as our children, — fatherland, dignity, and all our honors. What signifies a fresh disgrace added to all our misfortunes? In the sad times in which we live they are the happiest who, without pain, exchange their life for death." To love one's fatherland as much as one's children is well; but in Caesar's hands the country was in no peril; one thing only was in danger, — and they themselves say it, — their honors and their dignities.[2] They were right in regretting that grand life, and those fine harangues that were now no longer heard in the Forum, grown so quiet; but less eloquence and more security at this moment suited the world better, and we should do wrong to side with that old *régime* which, having done all it could that was useful,



JULIUS CAESAR.[3]

[1] Cicero, far more than Lucan, is the originator of the legend about Roman liberty being killed by Caesar.

[2] . . . *Honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes* (Sulpicius to Cicero, *Ad Fam.* iv. 5).

[3] Museum of Naples. A colossal bust belonging to the Farnese collection, considered one of the authentic portraits of Caesar.

henceforth continued to produce nothing but harm, — like those worn-out implements which must be replaced by new ones. In history new machines come into use by means of reforms, or else of revolutions.

At Pharsalia it was possible still to indulge the hope that the struggle was the conflict of two ambitions which would be extinguished like that of Sylla in the enjoyment of constitutional powers; after Thapsus and Munda, no one could doubt that monarchy would be established. Since the foundation of the Republic the Roman aristocracy had skilfully fostered among the people a horror of the name of king. With this word they had rid themselves of Sp. Cassius, of Manlius, of Maelius, and of the first of the Gracchi; with it again they succeeded in freeing themselves from Caesar. "It was you," exclaimed Cicero afterwards in one of his Philippics against Antony, — "it was you who killed Caesar at the festival of the Lupercalia when you offered him the royal diadem." And Cicero spoke truly. Though the monarchical solution answered to the needs of the times, it was almost inevitable that the first monarch should pay for his royalty, like Henry IV. of France, with his life.

The chief of the conspiracy was C. Cassius Longinus,[1] the general who had saved the army of Crassus, and, almost without troops, had defended Syria against the Parthians. After the battle of Pharsalia, he had been pardoned, and Caesar had just given him the praetorship with the government of Syria; but this ambitious and malignant man did not forgive the dictator for having appointed M. Junius Brutus to the urban praetorship before him. He had older grievances. Before his aedileship he had kept lions at Megara; Caesar had taken them from him; besides, he believed himself designed by nature to play some high part; all at this time depended upon one man, and he was conscious of being only second in the master's favor. He resolved to overthrow him by assassination, since open war had not succeeded. Accomplices were

COIN OF MEGARA.[2]

COIN OF MEGARA.

[1] He must not be confounded with Q. Cassius Longinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

[2] Head of Apollo crowned with laurel. On the reverse, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, and a seven-stringed lyre. Bronze coin of Megara.

necessary; he naturally sought them in the Pompeian party, where the ranks were so cleared that he saw no one who could prove an obstacle to him. He sounded Brutus.

As nephew and son-in-law of Cato,[1] Brutus seemed to be the inheritor of his virtues, and ended in becoming the inheritor of his passion for that oligarchical government which restricted equality to a small number, but gave to those few men a singular greatness. He remained a long time without taking any side. Though during the first Civil war he had declared for Pompey, the assassin of his father,[2] it was with very little ardor, for on the eve of Pharsalia, when all the camp was in commotion, he was reading and annotating Polybius. His mother, Servilia, had been the object of the most ardent and lasting of Caesar's affections, and before the battle he gave orders that care should be taken to spare young Brutus. From Larissa the latter sent his submission to the conqueror, was received by him with kindness, and obtained from him the government of Gallia Cisalpina, although he had not before held any great office. He showed himself grateful, did not rejoin the Pompeians either in Africa or in Spain; and when the ex-consul Marcellus, recalled by the dictator, fell in Athens by an assassin's hand, Brutus composed a pamphlet exonerating Caesar, who was accused of the murder. Thus it was said: "Cassius hates only the tyrant; Brutus loves him, but detests the tyranny." This was not quite true, for we see him without scruple solicit offices from Caesar, who gave him the urban praetorship and the important governorship of Macedon. But the conspirators besieged this soul, feeble under its apparent strength. Cassius represented to him that Rome would soon be replaced as capital of the Empire by Ilion and Alexandria, where their master would hold his royal court. Atticus forged a genealogy for him which, notwithstanding the famous story of the execution of the sons of the first Brutus, made him out to be descended from the avenger of the aristocratic privileges.[3] In order to urge him, to win him over

[1] Cato had two daughters named Portia. Th. Mommsen does not believe that the wife of Brutus was one of the two. (Cf. *Hermes*, vol. xv. p. 99.)

[2] See vol. iii. p. 70.

[3] It has been said that Caesar believed him to be his son; their respective ages are an objection to this, but not an insuperable one. Caesar was seventeen years older than Brutus, who was born in 85.

to the conspiracy, it was represented to him that the nobles, the Senate, and the populace had no hope but in him; and he was fascinated, intoxicated with the fierce doctrine of tyrannicide. At the foot of the statue of the elder Brutus, and on the tribunal where he himself sat as praetor, he found written: "O Brutus, would to heaven thou wert still alive!" — "If thy spirit but breathed in one of thy descendants!" And, again, "Sleepest thou, Brutus?" "Nay, thou art not Brutus!"

BRUTUS.[1]

It was not without long struggles that Caesar's friend yielded to temptation. During his sleepless nights he recalled what he had heard chanted in Athens in the midst of religious solemnities: "Under the myrtle-branch, I will bear the sword, like Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrant at the festival of Athena." He repeated to himself, "Our ancestors also did not believe it possible to endure a master."[2] In a very noble and very haughty letter written later, we read these hard words: "If my father rose from his tomb to assume an authority superior to the laws and the Senate, I would not suffer it." He yielded to those sophisms of the schools wherein politics had no place, and, for the sake of preserving to the Senate a power which he confounded with liberty, he decided on the murder of the man who had been to him as a father. Like all fanatics possessed with one idea, he believed himself the instrument of a necessary vengeance, and celebrated as the day of his deliverance that in which his resolution was taken.[2]

[1] Bust from the Museum of Naples, No. 876. It was found at Pompeii in November, 1869, in the house of Popidius.

[2] *Neque incolumis Caesare vivo fui, nisi postea quam illud conscivi facinus.* (Cic., *Ad Brut.*

His name gained others: Ligarius, who forgot Caesar's clemency; Pontius Aquila, a tribune, who had recently taken his office in earnest, to the great displeasure of the dictator and his friends;[1] Sextius Naso, Rubrius Ruga, Caecilius Bucilianus and his brother; Decimus Brutus, one of the best lieutenants of Caesar, who had richly rewarded him,[2] and L. Tillius Cimber, whom Caesar had also loaded with favors; the two Cascas; Trebonius, a general unfortunate in Spain, who did not now consider the promise of an early consulship sufficient for his merits; Sulpicius Galba, irritated at having been refused a consulship; Minucius Basilus, one of the dictator's favorite officers, who had not yet obtained a province; Cassius of Parma, Antistius Labeo, Petronius, Turullius: in all about sixty men; far more than was necessary to assassinate Caesar, who took no care of himself. Favonius, the imitator of Cato, had not forgotten the experience of the last four years; sounded by Brutus, he replied that the most unjust monarchy was preferable to civil war. Cicero, though connected with the chief conspirators, knew nothing; nevertheless, he thoroughly deserved to be in the plot, for he had, even before Pharsalia, deemed the death of Caesar necessary.[3] But the others doubted his courage, and they were right. The brilliant advocate remaining, in spite of Caesar's favors, the enemy of a government where speech was no longer everything, would have hesitated at the moment of action, and hindered the men whose ambition or fanaticism knew no scruples.

Caesar received ample warnings. Some came from heaven, which men told after the event: fires seen in mid-air; sounds at

16; cf. *ibid.* 17.) We have seen (vol. ii. p. 652) that Brutus had no pity for the provincials, extorting from them enormous usury. Montesquieu says (*Grand. et déc. des Rom.* chap. xi.): "There was a certain law of nations in the Republics of Greece and Italy which led people to regard the assassin of one who had usurped sovereign power as a virtuous man." I cannot concede this law in the case of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was expelled less as a tyrant than as a foreign ruler (vol. i. p. 254). Cassius (*ibid.* p. 172), Maelius (*ibid.* 237), Manlius (*ibid.* 279), and the Gracchi (vol. ii. chap. xxxviii.) were victims of the aristocracy and not usurpers or men who wished to be such. I find among ancient authors no one but Cicero who glorified the murder of Caesar; Suetonius merely says (*Julius Caesar*, 76): *Praegravant cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut . . . jure caesus existimetur.*

[1] When Caesar's chariot, in his triumphal procession, had passed by the tribune's bench, this man had not risen with the rest. Afterwards, in granting a favor, the dictator would say ironically: "I confer it by permission of the tribune Pontius" (Suet. *Jul.* 78).

[2] He possessed more than half a million of money (*Ad Fam.* xi. 10).

[3] See above, p. 431, the Second Philippic (*passim*), and a letter to Decimus Brutus (*Ad Fam.* xi. 5).

night; birds of prey perching in the Forum; his favorite horses refusing to eat and shedding tears; a diviner who warned him to beware of the ides of March, etc. He had more serious revelations: he was warned of a conspiracy prepared by Brutus. "Brutus," said he, "will wait till I am dead." But on another occasion, when some one directed his suspicions towards Dolabella and Antony, "It is not good luxurious fellows like these that I dread," he rejoined, "but men of lean and pallid aspect," indicating Brutus and Cassius. Antony was a faithful lieutenant; but Caesar treated Dolabella with a favor which neither his age nor his services explained. The latter was a young noble of turbulent character, overwhelmed with debts, longing for proscriptions to pay them, and displeased with the dictator, who made none. He was justly suspected, for on the day which followed the ides of March he joined the murderers. Caesar, without fearing him, kept a watch on him. When he rode past the house of Dolabella, outside of Rome, the soldiers of the praetorian cohort, instead of following him, surrounded his horse.

Caesar grew impatient of these whispered threats, and refused to believe them, or at least to think of them. "Rome," he said, "is more interested in my life than I;" and he had dismissed his Spanish guard.[1] On the night before the ides, supping at the house of Lepidus with Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, the conversation turned on death: "The best," he said, "is the least expected."

The conspirators were uneasy and undecided. Cassius wished to kill Antony and Lepidus, together with their chief. Brutus insisted that only one blow should be struck; in his delusion he imagined that, the tyrant once dead, liberty would revive of itself, and he was unwilling to stain his triumph with needless blood. In public his demeanor was calm, his mind made up; but in solitude, especially at night, his trouble and agitation revealed the struggles of this diseased soul with its false heroism. His wife Portia saw that he meditated some great design; to prove her courage and strength, before asking him the secret, it is said she wounded herself severely in the thigh.

[1] He appears, however, to have retained his praetorian cohort or a body of troops. When he travelled to Campania in December, 45, going from villa to villa, he was accompanied by two thousand soldiers (*Ad Att.* xiii. 52).

On the day of the ides (the 15th March, 44) the conspirators repaired early to the Senate; several of them, being obliged as praetors to dispense justice, held court while awaiting Caesar. He was late; Calpurnia, disturbed by a frightful dream, had desired that he should consult by sacrifices, and the augurs had forbidden him to go out. He determined to postpone the session to another day; but at that moment Decimus Brutus entered; he spoke scoffingly of the diviners, and assured Caesar that the Senate, being assembled in accordance with his summons, were ready to vote that he should be declared king in the provinces, and might wear the diadem by sea and land, save only in Italy. Caesar had scarcely passed the threshold when a servant, who had not been able to speak to him on account of the crowd, came and delivered himself up into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to keep him safe until the return of Caesar, as he had a matter of great importance to communicate to the dictator. Artemidorus of Cnidus, a teacher of Greek literature at Rome, approached Caesar in the street and gave him a small paper with the general outline of the conspiracy. "Read this," the philosopher said to him, "alone and quickly, for it contains matter of great importance and nearly concerning you." But Caesar could not find time for it. The conspirators had other

BRUTUS HOLDING THE DAGGER.[1]

[1] Statue from the villa Albani. (Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 911, No. 2319.)

grounds for uneasiness. One man said to Casca: "You made your secret a mystery to me, but Brutus has told me the matter." Casca, much astonished and troubled, was about to reveal everything, when the other added, laughing: "And how could you become in so short a time rich enough to canvass the aedileship?" A senator, Popilius Laenas, saluting Brutus and Cassius more eagerly than usual, whispered to them: "I pray the gods to give a favorable issue to the scheme you meditate, but I advise you not to lose a moment, for it is no longer a secret." He departed, leaving in their minds great misgivings that the conspiracy was discovered.

Meanwhile Portia had not been able to endure the anguish of suspense; she swooned, and those around her thought that she was dead; a slave ran to announce it to Brutus, but subduing his grief, he entered the Senate, where Caesar at last arrived. "At the doors of the curia the same Popilius Laenas, who knew everything, had a long conversation with Caesar, to which the dictator seemed to give the greatest attention. The conspirators, who could not hear what he said, feared he was denouncing them; they glanced at each other, and warned each other by a stern look not to wait until they were seized, but to forestall the lictors by a voluntary death. Cassius and some others had already put their hands under their robes to draw out a dagger, when Brutus perceived by the gestures of Laenas that the point in question between him and Caesar was a very earnest petition. He said nothing to the conspirators, for there were amongst them many senators who were not in the secret, but by the cheerfulness he exhibited, he re-assured Cassius; and soon afterwards Laenas, kissing Caesar's hand, withdrew.

"The place which was destined for the scene of the murder, in which the Senate met that day, was the same in which Pompey's statue stood, and was one of the edifices which Pompey had raised and dedicated with his theatre to the use of the public, plainly showing that there was something supernatural which guided the action, and ordered it to that particular place. Cassius, just before the act, is said to have looked towards Pompey's statue, and silently implored his assistance, though he had been inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus. But this occasion, and the instant danger, carried him away out of all his reasonings, and filled him for the time with a sort of inspiration. As for Antony, who was

firm to Caesar, and a strong man, Brutus Albinus kept him outside the house, and delayed him with a long conversation, contrived on purpose. When Caesar entered, the Senate stood up, to show their respect to him; and of Brutus' confederates some came about his chair, and stood behind it; others met him, pretending to add their petitions to those of Tillius Cimber, in behalf of his brother who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint supplications till he came to his seat. When he was sat down, he refused to comply with their requests, and, upon their urging him further, began to reproach them severally for their importunities; when Tillius, laying hold of his robe with both hands, pulled it down from his neck, which was the signal for the assault. Casca gave him the first cut, in the neck, which was not mortal nor dangerous, as coming from one who, at the beginning of such a bold action, was probably very much disturbed. Caesar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon the dagger, and kept hold of it; and both of them, at the same time, cried out, he that received the blow, in Latin: 'Vile Casca, what does this mean?' and he that gave it, in Greek, to his brother: 'Brother, help!' Upon this first onset, those who were not privy to the design were astonished, and their horror and amazement at what they saw were so great that they durst not fly nor assist Caesar, nor so much as speak a word. But those who came prepared for the business enclosed him on every side with their naked daggers in their hands. Which way soever he turned, he met with blows, and saw their blades levelled at his face and eyes, and was encompassed like a wild beast in the toils on every side. . . . Some say that he fought and resisted with the rest, but that when he saw Brutus' sword drawn, he covered his face with his robe and submitted, — letting himself fall, whether it were by chance or that he was pushed in that direction by his murderers, at the post of the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, and which was thus wetted with his blood. . . . The conspirators themselves were many of them wounded by each other, while they all levelled their blows at the same person."[1]

[1] Plut., *Caesar*. Of twenty-three wounds only one was mortal (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 86). Nicolaus Damascenus reckons them at thirty-five. Only two senators made any attempt to defend him; their names deserve to be remembered, — Sabinus Calvisius and Censorinus.

V. — Estimate of Caesar's Policy.

Caesar was the most complete man that Rome ever produced, — the one in whom appears the most harmonious development of all faculties: an orator of manly utterance;[1] a sober writer, free from all false glitter; an intrepid soldier as soon as it became necessary, and a general equal to the greatest from the moment when he took command of the armies. His mind, open to the lessons of life, forgot none of the counsels which life gives,[2] and his judgment, always calm amidst the wildest tumults, was obscured neither by anger nor emotion.[3] Accordingly he saw things in their true light and aimed at what was possible, going beyond this limit only just so far as was needful to make the possible success a certain one. His vices did not disturb his strong intellect, his pleasures never interfered with his business.[4] Even his victories never dazzled him. Founder as he was of a military monarchy, he by no means gave the first place to the army; he continued master of his soldiers as of himself, and dominating from the summit of his fortune the world as it lay stretched at his feet, he never gave way to the intoxication of pride which has more than once clouded the intellect of superior men.

He had the greatest of advantages: favorable circumstances and mediocrity in his opponents;[5] but he found another advantage in himself: the talent of transforming the men and the things of his time into instruments suitable to his plans. As in the midst of

[1] Cicero says of Caesar's style: *Nudi omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste detracta;* and Mr. Froude adds: "Like an undraped human figure perfect in all its lines as nature made it" (*Caesar*, p. 489).

[2] He used to say that experience was a great master: *est rerum omnium magister usus* (*Bell. civ.* ii. 8).

[3] *Moderate solebat irasci* (Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. 23). "He never gave way to passion" (Dion, xxxviii. 11).

[4] See, on Cleopatra and on Caesar's stay in Alexandria, p. 474.

[5] "Caesar had not overthrown the oligarchy; their own incapacity, their own selfishness, their own baseness had overthrown them. Caesar had been but the reluctant instrument of the power which metes out to men the inevitable penalties of their own misdeeds" (Froude, *Caesar*, p. 471). Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*) and Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879) are of nearly the same opinion as Mr. Froude.

blunderers he alone had a fixed purpose, his powerful and tranquil will made everything converge to a single end, and he attained it. What does the astonishing fidelity of the Gauls during the Civil war indicate but that skill in appropriating to himself living forces, which is the highest gift of a commander? More than once he did violence to fortune, — in his youth by enormous debts; later by military rashness; but his audacity was intentional and his temerity prudent; for these qualities, combined with his indomitable will, gave him a vast ascendency over men's minds, and enabled him to demand every effort from his friends and soldiers. His army was his family, and loved him with the most entire devotion. One of his centurions having fallen into the hands of the Pompeians in Africa, refused, though threatened with death, to enroll himself in the enemy's ranks; "Give me ten of my comrades," he said to Scipio, "send five hundred of your men against us, and see what we shall do with them." [1] Throughout his entire military career Caesar was only twice defeated,[2] and for those two defeats he very quickly and brilliantly made amends.

CLEMENTIA.[3]

Even his enemies felt the charm, for he employed against them

[1] *De Bell. Afric.* 45.

[2] Before Gergovia and at Dyrrachium.

[3] Statue in the Vatican (*Braccio Nuovo*, No. 74).

a weapon new to Rome, clemency; and it was so natural to him that we find it in his writings, where there is not an offensive word concerning his enemies. The fame of the great man who fell under the dagger of Brutus is not alone made up of military successes and political wisdom, but of kindness also. Between two reigns of terror, — one which had preceded him, the other which followed him, — he repudiated the savage customs of the Romans of that time and was unwilling to confiscate or to proscribe. Suetonius, who bears him neither hatred nor affection, concludes his portrait of Caesar thus: "He was gentle and good, *lenissimus*."

He reigned five years, during which he made seven campaigns, and he was not in Rome more than fifteen months during that time. But between battles his thoughts were of the reforms needed by the State; the mere enumeration of those he undertook would seem to imply a long life of repose and meditation.

Pledged by his family traditions to the defence of popular interests, he looked higher, fixing his attention upon the interests of the State, without hatred to the aristocracy or servility towards the people. The struggle in which the oligarchy engaged him enlarged his horizon; he saw that the safety of the Republic demanded something more than merely relieving the poverty of the plebeians of Rome, as the Gracchi had endeavored to do, or punishing extortioners in the provinces, which Sylla had attempted. He understood that out of the municipal constitution of Rome must be developed the constitution of a State, and to this end the right of citizenship must be largely bestowed, the Senate transformed into a representative assembly of the whole Empire, and the provincial governors placed under the power of a permanent chief, for whose interest it would be to make justice prevail in order thus to secure the prevalence of peace.

The Romans had an admirable State council in the old Republican Senate, but their two great statesmen, Sylla and Caesar, both recognized that the popular assembly was, and must be, incapable of managing the interests of sixty millions of men. The one, a workman of the past, constituted an aristocratic government, which, had it lasted, would have been in ancient times what Venice might have become in the Middle Ages if she had had neither the Council of Ten nor the Three Inquisitors of State, who

kept in check the nobility of the Golden Book. The other, a workman of the future, overthrew an oligarchy greedy of gain and of pleasure, and having neither the right to govern the Empire alone nor the intelligence necessary to preserve this government.

The same words often designate very different things. The Republic of the Romans had nothing in common with what we call by that name. By a republic, the moderns understand a society in which the citizen has the largest possible share of liberty and the government the least share of power. In Rome the citizen was the serf of the State, and the most forcible word in the Latin language, *imperium*, marked the extent of the executive power.[1] Even in the comitia the sovereign assembly voted only upon the propositions of the magistrates presiding, and these presidents still further had the power of putting a stop to the voting after it had begun. The idea of political liberty was so foreign to the mind of the Romans, that they never had an image of it;[2] among the

[1] As to guarantees, the citizen had but one, the *appellatio* and *intercessio*, that is, the appeal from one magistrate to another of equal or higher rank; and the latter's interference, putting a stop to proceedings; and the former could not be exercised beyond the first mile.

[2] At least I have sought in vain for it. It is true that Clodius, the man of all kinds of violence, made the statue of a courtesan into a goddess of Liberty, *ut esset indicium oppressi senatus ad memoriam sempiternam turpitudinis* (see Cic., *pro Domo*, 43, and above, p. 361), that Cæsar promised a temple to her, and that we see her image on the coins of Claudius, of Nero, and of Commodus, and her name in the inscriptions of Tiberius and Constantine. At the end of the first Punic war a temple had been erected on the Aventine *Jovi Libertati*. When Gracchus freed the eight thousand slaves who had fought so well for Rome against Hannibal, he caused the scene to be painted in this temple (Livy, xxiv. 16; xxxiv. 44). In the *Atrium Libertatis* which was erected where afterwards stood the Basilica Ulpia(?) slaves were set free (Sid. Apoll., *Epig.* 2); lots were drawn to see in which of the urban tribes freedmen were to vote (*Ibid.* xlv. 15); and there the slaves who gave evidence in the trial of Milo were put to the torture (*pro Milone*, 22). Finally this sanctuary of Liberty was used as a prison; the Tarentine hostages were confined there (Livy, xxv. 7). Rebuilt by Asinius Pollio, and used as a public library, it well deserved its name, *Atrium Libertatis*, the place where minds are set free by the wisdom of the ancients; and Augustus restored the temple of Jupiter Libertas, who had delivered the Republic from its misfortunes. After the defeat of the republicans at Munda, which inaugurated the monarchy, the Senate vowed another temple to Liberty. Ultimately, however, this goddess really had a statue in Rome. At the death of Sejanus the senators decreed that there should be set up in the Forum Ἐλευθερίου ἄγαλμα (Dion, lviii. 12).

This enumeration shows that by the word *liberty* the Romans understood something quite different from what we mean by it. It was the act of setting free from an inferior social condition, from the caprice of a master, and from the arbitrary power which an absolute prince could promise to renounce without abdicating: it was for the citizens the hope of living in peace under the law, whatever might be the authority which made it, and not the expression of a combination of institutions insuring them political liberty and participation in government.

innumerable statues which they have left us, we seek in vain for one representing it. They deified everything except that which would be our most popular divinity, had we still goddesses. The dispute between the Senate and Caesar had no bearing, then, on this question; the point to be decided was simply whether sixty millions of men should have one master or three hundred. Brutus killed Caesar because he wished to continue one of these three hundred, and to save the oligarchy was what he called Virtue. His view of this matter has long been accepted. An attentive study of the transformations of Roman society has diminished the authority of the tradition without causing it to disappear,[1] so that even in the present day Caesar has his enemies. In the eyes of impartial history, if he was the most ambitious of men, he was also the ablest instrument of an historic necessity. He originated that unity of command by which were rendered identical the interests of the head of the State and those of the people thus delivered from the rapacity of a hundred families. He created a monarchy of a character new to the ancients, which, instead of being, like Oriental monarchies, an indolent royalty, living in the midst of pleasures by the travail of its subjects, was in its principle and often in reality a royalty protecting the greatest number, thinking and acting for those

Quid est libertas? writes Cicero (*Parad.* v. 1). *Potestas vivendi ut velis*, a rescript of Alexander Severus, gives us the Roman sense of *Liberty*. "*Tantum mihi cura est eorum qui regantur libertatis, quantum et bonae voluntatis eorum et obedientiae.*" Dig. xlix. 1, 25. Mamertinus (*Paneg., Vet.* pp. 698, 699) says of Julian that he watches night and day over the liberty, that is, the security of the citizens. Amm. Marcell., xiv. 6, calls the imperial constitution *fundamenta libertatis*. As for the word *republic*, it signifies the State and not a condition of liberty and equality; accordingly it was made use of under the empire in the same way as the motto, S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus populusque Romanus*). I have given, in vol. i. p. 524, a head of Liberty on a coin of Lollius Palikanus. This coin commemorates a particular liberty, the right of speaking to the people accorded to the tribunes by the *lex Pompeia*. That on the coin of Servilius Isauricus, represented on p. 114 of this volume, is a memento of the numerous captives set at liberty by the conqueror of the pirates.

[1] This tradition still exists in France in many minds, but faith in it is very much shaken in Caesarian Germany and free England. I beg that it may be noticed that I have not in any way changed, in the course of the present publication, the opinion I expressed in 1844 in the second volume of my first edition. I could have wished, as so many others have done, that the great Republic which had for centuries shown unexampled wisdom might have endured. But was it possible? M. Fustel de Coulanges says very truly: "The men of this period loved the empire because they found interest and profit in loving it." (*Histoire des Institutions de l'ancienne France*, vol. i. p. 92). He adds, "In the history of the world we find few political systems which have lasted five centuries, like the Roman empire; we find few which have been so little questioned and attacked in principle; we find none which were so long and so universally applauded by the populations whom they governed" (*Op. cit.* pp. 93, 94).

who could neither think nor act for themselves. The basis of the imperial power at Rome was the tribunitian power, and in spite of the follies and crimes of the Caligulas, of the Neros, and of the Commodi, the emperors worthy of the name were the true tribunes of the people, concerned doubtless with their personal greatness, but also with the general interests of the empire; believing in merit rather than in birth; effacing the harsh and injurious distinctions established by the Republic; mitigating the law and making it each generation more humane, even for the slave, and going even as far as to conceive the great poor-law institution of Trajan; in a word, carrying out a good social policy without acting after the manner of demagogues. Now, this character the imperial monarchy owes to Caesar, and it has bequeathed the same to modern royalties, in which the ruler considers himself not as a son of heaven, but as the first of the country's servants. Augustus, Vespasian, the Antonines, Severus, Aurelian, Probus, and even Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian were in their turn great or skilful administrators, to whom millions of men owed, for more than two centuries, a prosperity which before their time the world had never seen.

Philosophers had foreseen this government, peoples desired it, and jurisconsults framed its theory. Tacitus, in the time of Nerva,[1] greeted its advent, which he ought to have placed earlier; and it was realized by the Antonines. It was an imperfect form, since it contained no safeguard against the incapacity or folly of the ruler; but it was better than the one which it superseded, while not as good as a system would have been in which the monarch, free to do well, was not free to do ill. Unfortunately humanity is very poor in political ideas, and very slow in the transition from one to another; it required eighteen centuries to advance from absolute to representative governments. A superior man can hasten the hour of great reforms;[2] Caesar, who had so many forms of genius, lacked this one, or lacked the time to manifest it. There

[1] *Quamquam res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum et libertatem* (*Agric.* 3).

[2] We have seen (vol. ii. p. 250 *seq.*) that the elements of a representative organization existed everywhere, and we shall see (chap. lxxi.) that Augustus knew no better than Caesar or the Senate how to utilize them, whereas the Church, imitating those institutions which had remained useless for politics, made them the instrument of her unity and her power.

remains, however, to the founder of Caesarism a fame that is grand enough; had he lived he would have been a Trajan or a Hadrian, and greater than both.

[1] LIB. AVG. P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XVII COS VIII P(ater) P(atriae). The reverse of an *aureus* of Commodus set in the patera of Rennes, one of the jewels of our *Cabinet des Antiques*.

LIBERTY.[1]

CHAPTER LIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR TO THE FORMATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (44-43).

I. — Funeral of Caesar (March, 44).

"IN the moments of amazement which follow an unexpected action anything can be done that a man has the courage to attempt." [1] But the conspirators, says Cicero, "though men in heart, were children in head." [2] They had formed a plan for the murder only, and they had none for what was to follow. Indeed, had they made any, the course of events would not have been altered thereby. Political crimes ruin the cause they claim to serve; Brutus and his friends had assassinated the Republic, or, at least, what remained of it.

COIN OF BRUTUS.[3]

When the work of deliverance had been accomplished and the murderers prepared to harangue the Senate, the terror-struck senators had disappeared. They themselves, instead of uttering shouts of victory and liberty, remain gloomy, undecided, and, as it were, startled by the blow they have struck. They are alone in the curia with their murdered victim, and yet they huddle together like criminals. No man threatens them, yet they make ready to defend themselves; they roll their togas round their left arms, and grasp their daggers. Finally they go forth; they cross the Forum with a freedman's cap carried in front of them; [4] they display their blood-stained

[1] Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, chap. xii.

[2] *Ad Att.* xiv. 21.

[3] BRVT. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST.; uncovered head of Brutus. On the reverse, EID. MAR. (ides of March); cap between two daggers. Silver coin of Brutus

[4] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 118. A coin of Brutus bears these words: *Lib. P. R. restitu*, with

weapons; they cry out that the tyrant is dead, and the crowd remains silent. Rome's liberators, repelled by the people's indifference, are compelled to seek an asylum; they hasten to the Capitol, which Dec. Brutus has occupied with his gladiators. But upon the steps of the temple they recognize the spot where Tiberius Gracchus fell in a better cause, beneath the hands of their fathers. He, too, had incited the people to liberty, and the people had already ceased to comprehend him. Would they make any better response to-day to the appeal of a few nobles who in the interests of a condemned caste had just committed a parricide?

Antony, Lepidus, and Caesar's other friends, believing that the conspirators had considerable forces ready at hand, had taken flight and hidden themselves. This affright among the Caesarians emboldened a few senators: Cinna, Lentulus Spinther, and Favonius went up to the Capitol. In the evening Cicero came thither, complaining that he had not been invited to the joyful feast of the ides.[1] Caesar's death had raised his illusions again; he began to have fresh hope, and displayed an activity and a decision with which he was no longer credited. He was anxious that the Senate should at once be assembled in the Capitol; Brutus and Cassius being praetors could legally convoke it. He thought that by acting with energy and promptitude between the two affrighted parties the senators would become masters of the situation.

Brutus hesitated; he wished once more to attempt to persuade the people, and on the following day (16th of March) he went down into the Forum. His speech, a grave and moderate one, was quietly listened to; but the praetor Corn. Cinna, a relative of the dictator, speaking after him and attacking Caesar, the crowd broke forth into cries and threats, and the conspirators, intimidated, hastily retired to the Capitol, which was defended by their gladiators.

a *pileus* or freedman's cap between two daggers (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* vi. 20 and 24). On one of the coins of Cassius there is the same legend, and the Caesarian Vibius Pansa put it upon his.

[1] So at least he afterwards wrote to Trebonius: . . . *quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus* (*Ad Fam.* x. 28; xii. 4). But he would have wished it to be more complete; *Quemquam* (Antonium) *praeterea oportuisse tangi* (*Ad Att.* xv. 11; cf. *De Off.* ii. 8, 27; iii. 6 and 21). By what a moderate man like Cicero dared to say we can judge of what the others could do, and would have done, had they not from the very first day encountered the resistance of the Caesarians and the populace.

During this indecision, Caesar's friends were making good use of their time; Lepidus, his master of the horse, had called out the veterans encamped on the island in the Tiber and had introduced them into the city; Antony had obtained from Calpurnia Caesar's papers and ready money, four thousand talents; he had also laid hands on the public treasure in the temple of Ops, seven hundred million sesterces,[1] which he carried off to his house. The common danger drew these two leaders together, and they united, less to avenge their dead master than to take advantage of circumstances. Antony gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus, and promised the latter the high pontificate which Caesar had held, together with the two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, which had been assigned to Lepidus shortly before.

The conspirators had among them a consul-elect, Dolabella, who proposed that thenceforth the ides of March should be celebrated as the second birthday of the Republic; some great personages went over to their side, and Decimus Brutus had command of a large body of troops in his government of Cisalpine Gaul, whence he could summon them. The Caesarians had only the legion of Lepidus, with a few veterans, and there was no reliance to be placed on the multitude at Rome. This situation demanded prudence. Antony, who had hitherto been known only as a headstrong soldier, displayed superior ability; he outwitted all men. In spite of Cicero the murderers entered into negotiations with him. It was agreed that in virtue of his office of consul, he should assemble the Senate on the following day, March 17. He convoked it, but in the temple of Tellus far from the Capitol, and he surrounded the place of deliberation with the armed cohorts of Lepidus. The assassins dared not attend the session; the people hastened thither crying to Antony to take care of himself; upon which he raised his toga and displayed a cuirass. The discussion was a stormy one. The proposition was made that Caesar should be declared a tyrant, and that his body should be cast into the Tiber. Antony represented that that would be to abolish his acts; and as all the appointments had been made for five years, magistracies at Rome, governorships of provinces, and command of armies, too many persons, beginning with the murderers themselves,

[1] Cic., *Philipp.* iii. 37.

were interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* to allow the proposition to pass.[1] Cicero urged the Senate to ratify all the acts of Caesar and confirm all his appointments; finally a decree was passed that no inquiry should be made in respect to the murder of Caesar, and that all his enactments and dispositions should remain valid *for the welfare of the Republic*.[2] The murderers had insisted that this last phrase should be added to the decree. The welfare of the Republic was the pass-word which served to justify the assassins in retaining the benefits conferred upon them by their victim. Later, those citizens who had obtained from Caesar appointments to the provinces, claimed in their turn the confirmation of their rights, and a second senatus-consultum gave them satisfaction. What a strange spectacle! They had slain the tyrant, but all men agreed in maintaining the acts of the tyranny "in the interests of the Republic." The amnesty was a natural consequence of this touching harmony; it was proclaimed, and no one thought of the results which had followed that of Caesar. The next day the people were called together in the Forum; Cicero still spoke of peace and union. His voice, which had regained its power, seemed to take hold of all hearts. The people invited the conspirators to descend from the Capitol; Lepidus and Antony sent their children thither as hostages, and when the two leaders of the conspirators arrived in the Forum, applause broke forth. The two consuls embraced;[3] Cassius dined with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus; the enthusiasm was general, and honest Cicero was triumphant. But in politics he had always been equally short-sighted; and now he was dreaming an idyl amid raging wolves.

The matter was not, indeed, at an end, and beneath an exterior of official friendship each retained his fierce passions. Since Caesar was not a tyrant, since his acts had been maintained, his fortune could not be confiscated, his will remained valid, and it was necessary to pay him the honor of a public funeral. L. Piso, his father-

[1] One of the most eager for this course was Dolabella, who in spite of his being only twenty-six was consul-elect, and who would have had to wait fifteen years to regain that office had the proposal passed. Many had similar reasons (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 129). I must say I have great doubts about the age usually attributed to Dolabella. The phrase used by Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 13) respecting him in the year 50 B.C. could not be applied to a youth of twenty; he had been tribune at twenty-two, another difficulty, etc.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 135.

[3] Dolabella as consul-elect had taken Caesar's place as the colleague of Antony.

in-law, read his last wishes to the people. He adopted as his son his grand-nephew Octavius, and bequeathed to him the larger part of his possessions.[1] In case Calpurnia should have borne him a son, he named certain guardians for the infant, among them several of his murderers; to others he left considerable legacies, and Decimus Brutus was one of the number on whom he destined his inheritance to devolve, in case of the death of Octavius. These gifts from the victim to his assassins awoke the anger of the multitude; when Piso added that the dictator left to the people his palace and gardens beyond the Tiber,[2] and to every citizen three hundred sesterces (about $14), there was a universal outburst of gratitude and threats.[3]

THE DIOSCURI.[4]

Another scene, carefully arranged, gave the whole city completely into Antony's hands. A funeral pile was erected in the Campus Martius. But the funeral panegyric was to be pronounced in the Forum. Thither the corpse was borne in rich apparel on an ivory couch, which was set down close to the rostra, and Antony took his place beside the dead. "It is not fitting," said he, "that so great a man should be praised by me alone. Listen to the voice of the country itself." And he slowly read the decrees of the Senate according divine honors to Caesar, declaring him consecrated, inviolable, father of his country. As he pronounced these last words he added, turning towards the funeral couch: "And behold here is the proof of their clemency! With him all had found refuge, and he himself could not escape; they assassinated him. Yet they had sworn to defend him; they had devoted to the gods whosoever should not shield him with his

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 143. See, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, the admirable scene in the third act where Antony reads the will aloud.

[2] This villa of Caesar's seems to have occupied the site of the Pamfili Palace. It was made into a museum.

[3] In this will, in which so many people had been named, there was no mention of either Cleopatra or Caesarion, whom she passed off as the dictator's son and who very probably was so. This omission shows the falsity of the reports which had been spread touching the queen's influence with Caesar and the projects foolishly attributed to the dictator of transporting the seat of empire to Alexandria. The great man has been credited with Antony's folly; with all due respect to romantic historians, these royal amours must be reduced to the proportions of a common liaison, without any influence on political matters.

[4] Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1788 in the Catalogue.

body!" Then stretching his hand toward the Capitol: "O thou Jupiter, guardian of this city, and all you, ye gods of heaven, I call you to witness; I am ready to keep my oath, I am ready to avenge him." Then turning towards the body, he began a hymn, as if in honor of a god, in a rapid and excited voice recalling his wars, his battles, his conquests: "O thou invincible hero, thou didst escape in so many battles only to come and fall in the midst of us!" and with these words he tore off the toga which covered the body, and holding it up to the people showed the blood which stained it, and the wounds wherewith it was pierced. Sobs broke forth from the multitude and mingled with his own; but this was not enough yet. The body of Caesar stretched upon the couch was hidden from their eyes. Suddenly the corpse was seen to rise, with the twenty-three wounds on the breast and face;[2] and at the same time the funeral choir sang: "I have saved them, then, only to die by them."

YOUNG OCTAVIUS.[1]

It seemed to the people that Caesar himself was rising from his funeral couch to demand vengeance of them. They hastened to the curia where he had been struck down, and set fire to it; they sought for the murderers, and, deceived by his name, tore

[1] Head found at Ostia. (Vatican, *Chiaramonti Museum*, No. 416.)

[2] This was the waxen effigy, of which Polybius speaks, made to resemble the dead, and which represented him at the funeral ceremonies. Antony had it arranged in such a manner that it could be raised into an upright posture and made to face about to all parts of the Forum, that the gaping wounds might be seen.

to pieces a tribune whom they took for Cinna, the praetor. From the glowing ruins of the curia they seized brands and hurled them against the houses of the conspirators; then they returned and took the body, and would have burnt it in the very temple of Jupiter. On being opposed by the priests they bore it back to the Forum to the spot where stood the palace of the kings. To make a funeral pile for it, they broke up the judgment seats and benches; the soldiers cast in their javelins, the veterans their crowns, their arms, their military gifts; the women their ornaments; and men thought they saw the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, themselves apply the first flaming torch to it. The people passed the whole night round the pyre. A comet which appeared in the heavens about that time seemed to justify the apotheosis. They cried that Caesar was received among the gods, and to the multitude it was an article of faith.[2] In order to consecrate this popular belief and render it more lasting by a tangible image, Octavius raised a brazen statue to his

CAESAR DEIFIED.[1]

[1] Mattei Collection, pl. 75, and Clarac, pl. 910, No. 2318B.

[2] *In deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 88). The comet which appeared at that time was Halley's. (See, in Vergil, the magnificent description which ends the first book of the *Georgics*.) *Hac de causa*, says Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 88), *simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella*. The month of *Quintilis* took Caesar's name *Julius* and still retains it as *July*.

adopted father in the Temple of Venus, with a golden star on its head; coins represent the new god thus.

To this mourning among the populace answered from afar the lamentation of the nations. Caesar, like Alexander, was bewailed by all whom he had conquered; the representatives of the provinces at Rome distinguished themselves by the liveliness of their grief. Each nation came in turn, says Suetonius, and made the Forum re-echo with its lamentations, and bewailed in its own way the protection it had lost; the Jews especially displayed unbounded regret;[1] for several nights they remained round the funeral pile. It has been asked whether there was not some secret community of ideas between the people from which religious unity was about to take its rise and the man who had desired to establish political unity. The Jews were only paying the debt they owed to him who, after having avenged them on the profaner of their temple, had allowed them to establish a synagogue at Rome, and to omit paying tribute during the Sabbatical year.[2]

Antony had succeeded; the murderers fled; but the Senate was deeply irritated at this treatment of the amnesty which had been passed on the previous day. The consul, who was very anxious to keep up appearances of legality, at a time when every one was talking about the avenged constitution, had need of that body to obtain dominion over it. First he brought it back to his side by instigating the recall of Sextus Pompeius and the abolition of the dictatorship; and still more surely by putting a stop to the popular movement which a certain Amatius wished to prolong for his own profit. This man, who said he was a relative of Marius and Caesar, had erected on the very site of the funeral pile an altar with this inscription: "To the Father of his Country," and every day sacrifices and libations were offered there; suits were settled before it as in the temples. Antony allowed his colleague Dolabella to overthrow the altar and put to death the demagogue, with a few of his partisans.

He even consented to have an interview outside Rome with

[1] Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 84. We have seen (p. 474) the motives of Caesar's friendship for the Jews. They were already numerous at Rome. (See the *Pro Flacco*, where Cicero shows that they made common cause with the popular party.)

[2] Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 3, 5. They had had a colony in Rome since the year 139 B.C.

Brutus and Cassius, who had retired before the popular indignation to Lanuvium. He guaranteed them all safety, and as they dared not venture into Rome, where in virtue of their office they should have resided, he caused them to be invested with the care of provisioning the city, to legalize their absence.[1] The other conspirators made arrangements to go and take possession of their governments; Decimus Brutus was allowed to set off for Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber for Bithynia, and Trebonius for Asia. Finally he did not oppose the restoration to Sextus Pompeius of those of his estates which had not yet been sold, with an indemnity of fifty million drachmae for those which had, and the proconsulship of the seas.[2] Never had the Senate found a more docile consul. Accordingly, when Antony, complaining of being pursued like a traitor by the hatred of the people, demanded a guard for his personal safety, the Senate did not refuse to grant him one. He soon raised it to six thousand men. This was an army sufficient to allow of his throwing off the mask.

The Senate had confirmed Caesar's acts. Antony extended this sanction to the projected acts of the dictator; and as he possessed all his books and had in his employ Faberius, one of Caesar's secretaries, he found in these documents, or caused to be written in them, all that it was to his interest to read there. Thus the Republic, the treasury, and the public offices were at his disposal, and Caesar dead was more powerful than he had been when alive, for what he would not have dared to do, Antony did in his name;[3] he sold appointments, honors, and even provinces, as Lesser Armenia, which Dejotarus bought from him, and Crete, which paid ready money for its independence,[4] but only threw

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 2. This writer says that Brutus and Cassius, in order to gain the veterans, had instigated the abolition of one of Caesar's best laws, — that which forbade soldiers to sell their allotment of land till they had held it twenty years.

[2] After Caesar's death, Sextus, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees, had commenced war against the governor of Further Spain, Asinius Pollio, and had recovered the two provinces, where he had raised six legions. When he received the decree here mentioned granting him an indemnity, no part of which, however, was paid, together with what was more profitable to him, a command of the sea, like that which Pompey had held (App., *ibid.* iii. 4), he repaired to Marseilles, where he assembled some vessels (Dion, xlv. 9; xlvi. 40; App., *ibid.* iv. 84, 96).

[3] *Ita ne vero? . . . ut omnia facta, scripta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris, plus valerent quam si ipse viveret?* (Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 10; cf. *Philipp.* i. 7, 8).

[4] *Philipp.* ii. 37.

away the money. These scandalous bargains swelled his fortune; on the ides of March his debts amounted to over a million and a half of our money; before the kalends of April he had paid it all, and invested nearly seven times the amount, which served him to bribe soldiers, senators, and his colleague Dolabella, thenceforth one of the most dangerous foes to his former party. To gain the Sicilians Antony gave them the citizenship; perhaps this was really one of the dictator's ideas. But he did not scruple to abrogate at need Caesar's most important laws. He established a third decuria of judges, composing it of centurions and common soldiers of the Gallic legion Alauda. He abolished the laws respecting the appeal to the people and the governorship of the consular provinces, the prolongation of which for six years he authorized, in order to secure for himself after his consulship a retreat whence he could long defy his enemies.[1] When by all these measures Antony thought he had made himself sufficiently strong, he broke the truce made with the murderers, causing Brutus and Cassius to be despoiled of their rich governments of Syria and Macedon, and giving them in exchange the two poorer ones of Crete and Cyrene;[2] Dolabella, his colleague, appropriated to himself the first named, and he took the second, wherein were stationed considerable forces. "The tyrant is dead," sadly exclaimed Cicero,[3] "but tyranny still lives!"

II. — Octavius and Antony (April, 44).

In the mean while there had arrived at Rome a young man hitherto little noticed, Octavius, great-nephew of Caesar through his mother Atia, who was the daughter of one of the dictator's sisters. At four years old he had lost his father, a wealthy Roman knight of a plebeian family coming from Velletri. Caesar, having no sons of his own, had taken charge of him. At fifteen he received the laticlave, the sign of senatorial dignity;

[1] Cic., *Philipp.* i. 8, 9; v. 3, 6; Ascon., ad Cicer. *in Pison.* 39.
[2] There is some uncertainty as to the designation of the two provinces.
[3] *Ad Fam.* xii. 1, and *Philipp.* v. 4.

later on a pontificate, and after the African war military rewards, though he had taken no part in the expedition. An illness prevented his arriving in Spain in time to be present at the battle

PALLAS OF VELLETRI.[1]

of Munda; but Caesar intended to take him with him against the Parthians, and had sent him to Apollonia in the midst of the legions which were assembling there.[2] The squadrons of the army

[1] Museum of the Louvre. This statue, the most beautiful of the antique Minervas which have come down to us, was found, in 1737, a mile from Velletri, amid the ruins of a Roman villa which perhaps belonged to Octavius.

[2] Suet., *Octav.* 9; Dion, xlv. 2; Nicolaus Damascenus, 4; Vell. Paterc., ii. 59. Appian (*Bell. civ.* iii. 9) even says that he gave him the title of Master of Horse for a year.

of Macedon in turn were reviewed beneath the young man's eye, and by his uncle's orders he took part in their exercises. This precaution saved the fortune of Octavius, for with that marvellous address of which he soon afterwards gave so many proofs, he attached the soldiers to himself, and when tidings came of the death of the dictator, the tribunes invited him to put himself under the protection of these devoted legions. His

GABLE ORNAMENT IN MARBLE FOUND AT APOLLONIA.[1]

friends Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer.[2] This would have been tantamount to a declaration of war against the Senate and the murderers; and Octavius, a man of reserved mind, who inclined to prudence as much as Caesar did to boldness, rejected the scheme; but daring in his own way, he resolved, notwithstanding the warnings of his kin, to go to Rome alone and

[1] Heuzey, *Mission*, etc., pl. 34, No. 1.

[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 59. This Salvidienus was the son of a poor peasant, and had himself been a herdsman in his youth; he had raised himself step by step under Caesar, and had taken his place among that general's highest officers (App., *ibid.* v. 66). The Apollonians offered Octavius all their goods; he afterwards rewarded them by declaring their city free and exempt from taxation.

there lay claim to his dangerous heritage. He quite understood that he could only escape proscription by rendering himself formidable, and that there was no alternative for his destiny but the fate or the fortune of Caesar.

Being uncertain as to the disposition of the garrison of Brundusium, he landed at the little port of Lupia, where the scene at the funeral ceremonies had already been heard of, as well as the decrees of the Senate confirming the dictator's acts. From that time Octavius took the name of Caesar, which was greeted with acclamations by the first soldiers whom he met. To him flocked the freedmen and friends of his adopted father, and the veterans from the colonies who came to offer him their swords, if he designed to avenge that father's death. But he, advancing no pretension but that of fulfilling the last wishes of the illustrious victim, travelled without noise or ostentation. Near Cumae he learned that Cicero was in the neighborhood; he went and paid him a visit, and won the old man's heart by his urbanity and pretended simplicity.[2] At the end of April he entered Rome.[3] Antony was absent; he was scouring Italy to recruit friends, and especially to secure veterans.

THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS.[1]

Octavius was at that time scarcely nineteen; in vain did his friends renew their entreaties that he would lay aside the name of Caesar; on the second day after his arrival he presented himself before the praetor and declared that he accepted the heritage and the adoption; then he ascended the rostra and promised the assembled people that he would pay all the legacies left them by the will.[5] Antony did not return till the end of May;

OCTAVIUS IN MOURNING.[4]

[1] IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. IIIVIR ITER; R(ei) P(ublicae) C(onstituendae) (Caesar, *imperator*, son of the god Caesar, for the second time triumvir, charged with the reconstitution of the Republic).

[2] Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 10 and 11 (19th of April, 44).

[3] In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, found forty years ago in the Escurial, the order of events is different. According to him Octavius, who had taken all the money sent to Greece for Caesar's double expedition, arrived in Campania with large sums, visited the colonies founded by the dictator, harangued the soldiers and populace in the towns, distributed money, and induced two legions to follow him to Rome. This story is more probable.

[4] DIVI IVLI F.; head of Octavius bearded in sign of mourning. Coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

[5] Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 20; Dion, xlv. 6.

Octavius asked an interview with him, and it took place in Pompey's gardens. After protestations of gratitude and devotion, Octavius reproached him with the amnesty granted to the murderers, and his forgetfulness of the vengeance due to the manes of Caesar. He ended by demanding the money left by the dictator, to enable him to pay the legacies due to the people. Antony was quite determined not to restore anything, and thought he could easily dispose of the claims of this inexperienced boy. He answered that "as consul of the Roman people he had no account to render to a young man; that it must be known that but for his efforts Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, and consequently the will would have been annulled; that as for the money, the little Caesar had left had served to obtain the passing of the decrees which saved his memory; that, moreover, Octavius was entering upon an evil road in wishing to flatter the people, a changeful multitude, less sure in its constancy than the waves. He ought to have learned this much in the school which he had just quitted." [1]

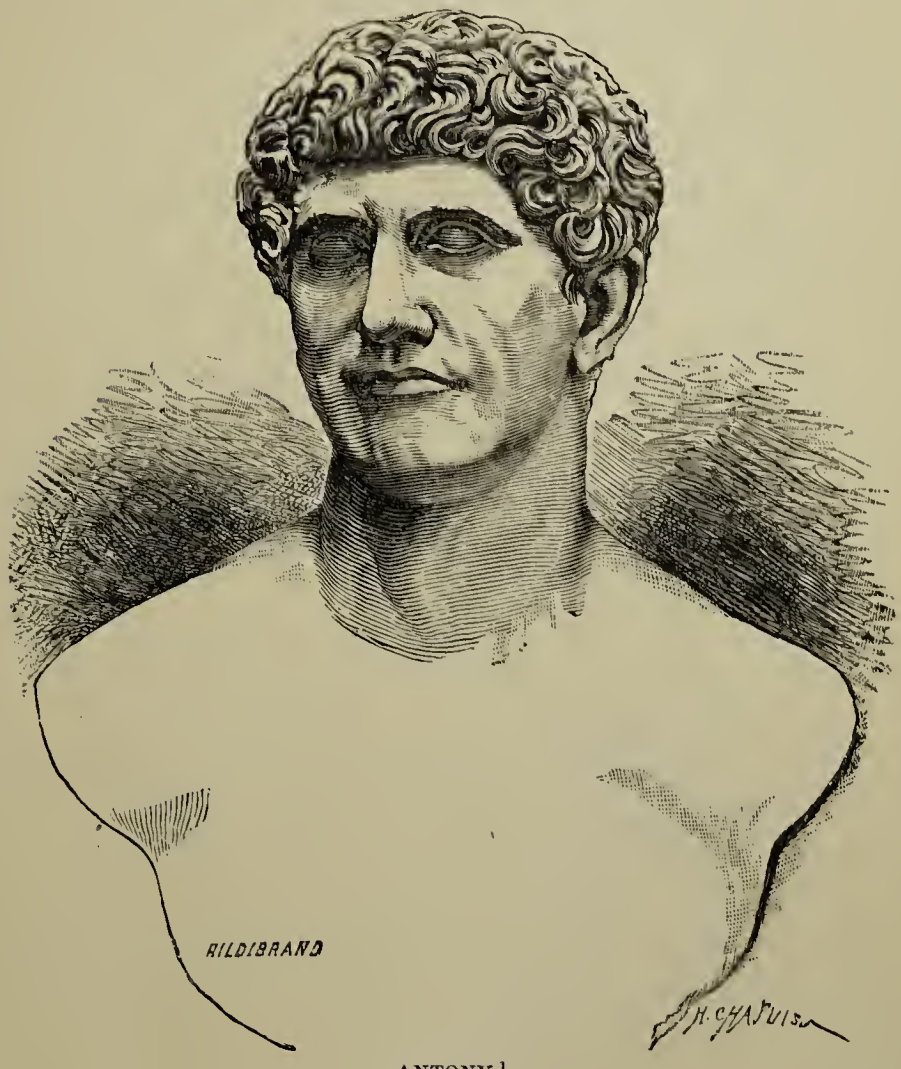
Octavius departed deeply wounded at this bitter irony. For he lacked everything; his relatives and advisers urged him to remain in obscurity, and Antony was desirous of keeping him there. Another man might have yielded, but behind his trembling family and friends he had seen that the people and the soldiers applauded and encouraged him; and so with a boldness worthy of the bravest in the battle-field, he still persisted. Caesar's treasures being refused him, he sold the dictator's estates and villas, and as these domains did not suffice, he sold his own property also, and borrowed of his friends, beginning, according to Caesar's example, by ruining himself, and, like him, pledging the present for future advantage. Antony, after turning the claimant into ridicule, ended by keeping a serious watch over his movements. He placed an increasing number of obstacles in his way; he prevented the ratification by a curiate law of the adoption; he raked up against him endless suits with men laying claim to the inheritance or demanding the payment of debts. One day when the youthful Caesar was haranguing the people, he caused him to be dragged from the rostra by his lictors.[2] But this unfair kind of warfare.

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 20.

[2] Dion, xlv. 6, 7.

these acts of violence, served the cause of his adversary, whose popularity gathered all the credit that Antony lost.

Antony perceived it, however, and stopped. Indeed, he had need of the people for a new scheme. His province of Macedon seemed to him to be too far from Rome; he therefore sought to obtain Cisalpine Gaul, intending then to summon to him the six



ANTONY.[1]

legions of veterans whom Caesar had destined for the war in the East, to cause them to pass through Italy, and perhaps to employ them against his enemies. For different reasons the young Caesar approved of this plan: Decimus Brutus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; it was for the interest of Octavius not to leave one of the conspirators in that fortress which commands Italy and Rome. He had many friends in the army of Dalmatia; if it landed

[1] Bust in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, A 96.)

Antony might perhaps be less its master than he thought. The two leaders of the Caesarians were thus for the moment drawn together; they became reconciled, and Octavius used his influence in obtaining the passing of the law, which was opposed by the Senate and accepted by the tribes (June or July, 44 B.C.).[1] Octavius hoped Antony would return him service for service. The people wished to give him the tribunate, though his adoption into the family of the Julii rendered him incapable of holding that office; but Antony thwarted his demand by promulgating an edict threatening with the consular displeasure any man who should canvass contrary to the laws. Evidently Octavius was not of age. As the people threatened to become violent, the consul broke up the assembly.

Notwithstanding this defeat the young Caesar had in a few weeks made great progress; the people were for him, but power was no longer to be found in the Forum; he sought it where it existed; his emissaries secretly traversed the colonies of veterans, whilst others went to meet the legions who were coming from Macedonia. These tactics succeeded. One day some military tribunes came to the house of Antony, who reminded him that there was but one interest common to all Caesar's friends, vengeance for his death and the maintenance of his institutions, that this end would not be attained till they ceased to divide their forces, and that he ought therefore to effect a reconciliation as quickly as possible with the dictator's adopted son. These entreaties were equivalent to a command; the two leaders allowed themselves to be led by the tribunes to the Capitol, there to swear eternal friendship. A few days later the consul publicly upbraided the young Caesar with having hired assassins against him, and Octavius returned the accusation. Octavius could never have thought of using these extreme means, for he had need of the ablest of his father's generals, and he only wished at first to compel Antony to share with him.

At Rome, however, a strong opposition was springing up against the latter; and the malecontents were encouraged by the division

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 25–37; Dion, xlv. 9. Several senators had declared that they would rather restore the Gauls to independence than give up that province to Antony. Others had proposed to unite Cisalpine Gaul with Italy, which would have suppressed the government, proconsul, and army maintained there.

BAY OF POZZUOLI.

which had broken out in the Caesarian camp, the progress of Sextus Pompeius, who was assembling a fleet, and the news from the East that Trebonius had seized upon Asia Minor, and that the legions of Syria were calling for Cassius. Brutus had let his colleague start; and, hesitating what line of conduct to pursue, had remained at anchor in the bay of Puteoli, whence he had sent orders for celebrating with rare magnificence the games which he owed the people of Rome for his praetorship, without, however, daring to appear there in person. Cicero entreated him not to quit Italy, so that he might be in a position to profit by the misunderstanding between Antony and Octavius. But the threats of some and the weakness of others, the legions at Brundusium, the veterans in the colonies, the Senate itself, which failed to support Piso when, in an energetic speech, he broke with the consul, — everything, in fact, frightened him, and he departed. His fears infected Cicero, who embarked for Greece with the intention of there awaiting the end of Antony's consulship. He went as far as Syracuse; there indecision again overcame him, and the memory of his first flight from Italy stopped him. At sixty-three it was too late to begin camp life again; it was better to remain on the battle-field, fight there, and, if need be, die; he returned to Rome (31st August).

Antony had convoked the Senate for the 1st of September; Cicero avoided repairing to it, excusing himself on the ground of fatigue and the state of his health. The consul took his absence as a tacit reproof, and giving way to violent invectives, he went as far as to say that he should send soldiers to bring him by force or burn his house if he did not come. On the following day the Senate again met; Antony did not appear, leaving his colleague Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, to preside. Upon this, emboldened by the circumstances, Cicero himself came and took his seat, and delivered the first of those harangues which in memory of Demosthenes he called Philippics. While still retaining some consideration for the man, he energetically attacked his acts. Antony, furious at this, remained fifteen days at his Tiburtine villa composing his reply, and on the 19th of September he summoned the Senate to hear it. Naturally in this bill of accusation Cicero was represented as guilty of a host of crimes: of the

illegal execution of Catiline's accomplices, of the murder of Clodius, of the rupture between Pompey and Caesar, and of the assassination of the dictator. Antony seems to have hoped to unite all parties against Cicero by proving that each of them had a mistake or a crime to reproach him with; above all he desired to point him out to the veterans as the victim demanded by the manes of Caesar.[1] Cicero affirms that he had intended to be present in the Senate on this occasion, but that his friends prevented him; he would certainly have incurred some danger, for the consul had the entrances to the curia guarded by soldiers.[2] But he dared not even remain in Rome; he retired to one of his villas near Naples, where he composed the second Philippic, — a divine work, says Juvenal,[3] — which was never delivered, and not even made public until after Antony's departure for Cisalpine Gaul.

During this war of words and these transports of eloquence, Octavius, with much less noise, was far more seriously undermining the consul's power; he was enticing his soldiers away from him. Antony heard that secret agents were at work among the legions which had landed at Brundusium, and he set out in great haste (3d of October) to arrest the defection. The man who was already his rival also left the city, made a round among the colonists of Caesar in Campania and Umbria, and brought back ten thousand men, promising each veteran who should follow him two thousand sesterces. He strove also to win over Cicero, and through him the Senate, in order to obtain from that assembly a title which might seem to confer upon him legal authority. Every day he wrote to the old ex-consul, urging him to return to Rome and place himself at the head of affairs, to fight the common enemy, and once more save the Republic. He promised him confidence and respect; he called him his father; and Cicero was persuaded.

At Brundusium Antony, forgetting that soldiers recognize no discipline when their leaders no longer recognize the laws, had severely reproved the legionaries for their affection for a *rash boy*.[4]

[1] Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 13; *Ad Fam.* xii. 2.

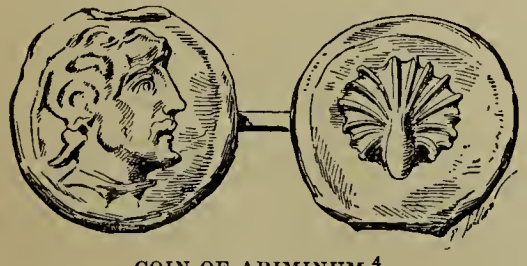
[2] *Philipp.* v. 7; *Ad Fam.* xii. 25.

[3] *Divina Philippica* (x. 125). Cicero sent it to Atticus about the end of October, asking him whether he should publish it (*Ad Att.* xv. 13).

[4] Παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς (App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 43).

They had not, said he, denounced the agents of discord who had introduced themselves into the camp. But he should know how to discover and punish these men; as for themselves, he promised them a gratuity of four hundred sesterces. These threats and his parsimony, two things to which the soldiers were no longer accustomed, were received with derisive laughter. He replied savagely by causing them to be decimated; some centurions were even slain in his own house, at the feet of his wife Fulvia, who was covered with their blood.[2] A few days later he put to death several other suspected persons whom he had at first forgotten; he then sent his troops along the Adriatic towards Ariminum, while he himself, with a picked escort, repaired to Rome (October, 44). He immediately summoned the Senate with the intention of accusing Octavius of treason for having raised troops without an official commission. But he heard that two of the legions of Brundusium had just gone over to his rival, and the Senate was hostile to him. He felt that at Rome he should be defeated; that like Sylla and Caesar he must seek in the camps the means of re-entering the city as its master; and he set out for Ariminum. Decimus Brutus had not submitted to the plebiscitum depriving him of Cisalpine Gaul, and to legalize his refusal he appealed to the Senate's ratification of Caesar's acts. Antony intended to remove him from that province,[3] and then himself to enter into a closer alliance with Lepidus the governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and with Plancus who commanded three legions in Transalpine Gaul; thus being master in person or through his two friends of the provinces which his former general had held, he would recross the Rubicon and repeat

COIN OF BRUNDUSIUM.[1]


COIN OF ARIMINUM.[4]

[1] BRVN; Arion on a dolphin, holding the lyre and cantharus; scalloped shell beneath. Coin of Brundusium. (See vol. i. p. 493, a coin on which Arion is holding a Victory.)

[2] Such is the exaggerated account of Cicero (*Philipp.* iii. 4, and xii. 6), who speaks of three hundred executions. According to Appian there were only a few soldiers put to death.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 46.

[4] Head of man, uncovered, with a mustache and wearing the *torquis*. On the reverse, a shell. Coin of Ariminum.

the story of the dictator, but with a different ending, renouncing the clemency which had ruined Caesar.

III. — Octavius, the Senate's General (January, 43).

Cicero returned to Rome almost immediately (December 9). The situation appeared better; the chiefs of the two parties had abandoned the city: the murderers, that is to say, the faction of the nobles, were in the East; Antony and Lepidus, the representatives of the soldiery, in the two Gauls. It seemed reasonable to think that the "honest folk" who were left in possession of Rome and the government might with skill and energy obtain the ascendency again. Cicero put himself resolutely at their head, and believed that the glorious times of his consulship were about to return. He perceived, however, that the sword and not eloquence would decide the victory; and the Senate had no army.

But the young man who had just expelled Antony had one. Would it be difficult to win him over to the good cause? He was as yet only a name, a standard, which served the veterans as a rallying point. But what was there to prevent Cicero from obtaining possession of this standard? Animated with pious zeal, the young Octavius had no other ambition save to carry out Caesar's last wishes. When he had ruined himself by doing this he would relapse into obscurity. A few praises, a few honors, would satisfy the vanity of a youth of twenty; his age would secure his docility. Octavius would furnish the senators with the army they lacked, and after the victory the instrument used in securing it could be broken. Would it not be a curious sight and a legitimate expiation to make Caesar's veterans serve to consolidate liberty? Such were the hopes with which Cicero lulled himself, notwithstanding the warnings of those who pointed out to him that this youth had already displayed a prudence and a boldness beyond his years. Only ten days after returning to Rome, the old orator had publicly eulogized Octavius in the Senate and in the presence of the people;[1]

[1] Third and Fourth Philippies. See on this subject the severe words of Brutus in epistles sixteen and seventeen of the book of letters of Brutus and Cicero. [These letters to Brutus

he congratulated the legions who had deserted to him from the consul's standards, and also the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who was bravely resisting the unjust attack of the man whose title still made him lawful head of the Republic.

Antony was in fact already besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina (Modena). Cicero, repeating the useless tactics of Marcellus against Caesar, wished to have the consul called upon to lay down his arms, leave his province, and await the decisions of the Senate, on penalty of being declared a public enemy. He further demanded levies, the suspension of civil affairs, the assumption of the war-dress, and the declaration of a *tumultus* (state of siege). And he also demanded for Lepidus, whom he hoped to detach from Antony by a puerile gratification of vanity, a gilded equestrian statue to be erected in the Forum; and for Octavius an exemption from the *leges Annales*, so that he might receive a seat in the Senate, and the title of propraetor. In order that no objection might be raised to the latter's youth, Cicero quoted the early commands held by the victors of Zama and Cynoscephalae; he recalled to mind that Alexander had conquered Asia ten years before he reached the age requisite at Rome for canvassing the consulship; and he guaranteed the patriotism of the young Caesar; he knew, he said, even the innermost thoughts of this young man; and he pledged his word that Octavius would never cease to be what he then was, that is to say, such as they would always wish him to be. The Senate, more timid than the enthusiastic old man, who on recovering his speech became so valiant, granted what was asked for the dictator's heir, adding thereto the erection of an equestrian statue,[2] a seat in the Senate among those of consular rank, and the ratification of what Octavius had promised to the

COIN OF HIRTIUS.[1]

COIN OF HIRTIUS.

are probably a compilation made in the time of Augustus or Tiberius. (Cf. P. Meyer, *Uber die Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cic. ad Brut.* 1881.) — *Ed.*]

[1] C. CAESAR COS. TER. ; veiled head of Julius Caesar. On the reverse, A. HIRTIVS PR., with the *lituus*, *praefericulum*, and axe.

[2] Velleius Patereulus (ii. 61) remarks that hitherto only Sylla and Pompey had obtained an equestrian statue. For the like honor to be granted to a youth of nineteen there must have been many partisans of Caesar in the Senate.

soldiers, while the public treasury was charged with the payment of his debt.[1]

Meanwhile the two new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa,[2] former friends of Caesar, succeeded in having one more attempt made to preserve peace. The deputies sent to Antony returned at the end of January with a reply that could not be accepted; he wished to have the consulship for Brutus and Cassius, in order to make his peace with them; for his legionaries he required money and land, which had always been, since Sylla's time, the first condition in a treaty of peace; for himself the command of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions, and the ratification of all his acts like those of Caesar. Cicero could not yet, however, force on a declaration of war; the decree charging Octavius and the two consuls to raise the blockade of Modena only spoke of a tumult to be appeased.[3] Octavius had for this campaign received the title of propraetor together with the *imperium* and an authority equal to that of the two consuls in office. Another senatus-consultum forbade him to be called a boy.[4]

Antony had numerous friends[5] at Rome who obtained the despatch of a second embassy to him; and in order to get rid of Cicero, he had been appointed one of the deputies. He perceived the snare in time, and by his twelfth Philippic he caused the reversal of a decision which would have allowed Antony time to take Modena by famine. The letters of Sextus Pompeius, who was assembling an army at Massilia and offered his services, and the news from the East, where Brutus and Cassius had taken possession of their governments of Syria and Macedonia, seconded his efforts and determined the Senate.

[1] Cic., *Philipp.* v. 17; App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 51; Dion, xlvi. 29.

[2] Vibius Pansa was the son of a man proscribed by Sylla (Dion, xlv. 17.) Even before restoring their rights to the children of the proscribed, Caesar had obtained the election of Pansa to the tribuneship in 51 (Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8, 6 and 7).

[3] The word *tumultus* had two meanings: it signified a formidable war [especially a Gallic war], demanding the efforts of all the citizens, or a disturbance not worthy of the name of a war. Cicero took it in the former of these senses, the Senate in the second; all the citizens, however, donned the *sagum* of the soldiers. The citizens were taxed 5 per cent on their property; the senators paid in addition to this four obols for each tile on their houses, a duty resembling the modern window-tax (Dion, xlvi. 31).

[4] *Ne quis eum puerum diceret, ne majestas tanti imperii minueretur* (Serv., *Ad Eclog.* i.).

[5] Dion (xlvi. 1–28) puts into the mouth of one of them named Calenus a violent speech against Cicero, reproducing the accusations and calumnies of his adversaries. The famous consulship of 63 is there very roughly handled.

In the course of March, 43, Hirtius and Octavius entered on the campaign, and were joined at the end of the month by Vibius Pansa with new levies. Antony sought to induce them to unite with him, reminding them that they too were Caesarians; that the man he was besieging had been one of Caesar's murderers, and that they would themselves be the first victims of the party whose passions they served. The consul Hirtius sent on the letter to Cicero, who read it aloud in the Senate with an eloquent commentary.[2]

COIN OF VIBIUS PANSA.[1]

These last days of the orator are splendid; he now carried into public affairs the activity which, being devoted after Pharsalia to his literary labors, had rapidly produced so many masterpieces.[3] The rostra, silent for fifteen years, he now seized, and restored to all its early power and glory. An old man, who might have been supposed broken down with years and varying fortune, became in himself the whole government. In the Senate he restored confidence to the timid and courage to cowards; in the city, clad in war-dress in order to make evident the imminence of the peril, he called out voluntary gifts to supply the exhausted treasury, and excited the devotion of the poor, who labored without wages to fill the empty arsenals. In the provinces his letters sustained the constancy of the besieged in Modena, restrained Plancus and Lepidus, confirmed Sextus Pompeius in his favorable intentions, and summoned to the Senate's aid Pollio from Spain, Brutus from Macedonia, and Cassius from Syria. The latter wrote to him: "I am astonished at your surpassing yourself; the *consularis* is greater than the consul, and your toga has done more than our arms."[4]

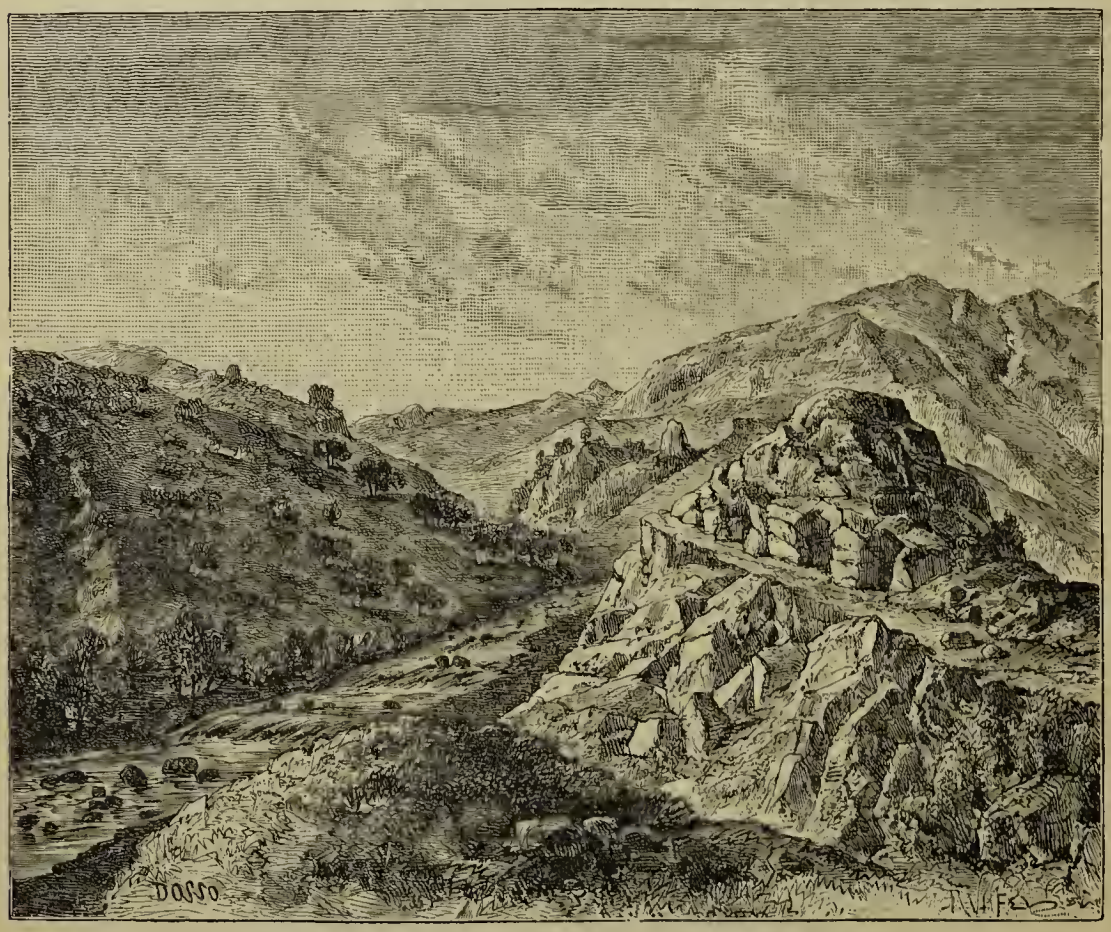
[1] PANSA; mask of Pan. On the reverse, C. VIBIVS. C. F. C. N. IOVIS AXVR; Jupiter with rays round his head, holding a patera and a spear. This god was worshipped at Terraeina (Anxur) under the form of youthful Jupiter with his divine partner Feronia, who was assimilated to Juno (Serv., *Ad Aen.* vii. 799).

[2] Philippic xiii.

[3] *Plura brevi tempore eversa, quam multis annis stante republica scripsimus* (*De Off.*, iii. 1); the *De Partit. Orat.*, the *Brutus*, the *Paradoxa*, the *Orator*, the *Acad. Quaest.*, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, the *Tusc. Quaest.*, the treatises *De Senec.*, *De Amic.*, *De Fato*, *De Gloria*, *De Off.*, and the *Topica*.

[4] *Ad Fam.* iii. 13.

But Lepidus did not vouchsafe any reply to the advances of Cicero; he urged the Senate to treat with Antony; and he drew Plancus and Pollio into his crafty or at least very unsenatorial policy; the son of the man proscribed in 78, and himself master of horse under Caesar, had interests which Cicero's rhetoric could not make him forget. As for the tyrannicides, they were far distant, and in no position to intervene in the conflict which must be decided



VALLEY CALLED HOMER'S GROTTOS, NEAR SMYRNA.[1]

so near Rome. Already one of them, Trebonius, had paid the debt with his blood; Dolabella had surprised him in Smyrna and put him to death. Later it was told how threatening portents had announced the public misfortunes: the Mother of the Gods, whose statue in the Palatine looked towards the rising sun, suddenly turned her face towards the west, as though unwilling to see the places occupied by the murderers; the statue of Minerva at Mutina bled.[2] The gods became Caesarian, so at least thought the

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage dans l'Asie mineure*, pl. 6B.

[2] Dion, xlvi. 33.

multitude to whom these miracles were related, for prodigies always take place for those who are ready to believe in them.

A slight advantage gained by Antony's troops before the junction of the three senatorial generals spread uneasiness in the city. On the 15th of April, 43, Pansa arrived in the neighborhood of Bologna, where his colleagues were, and on the following days the battle raged fiercely in three places at once. Pansa had been mortally wounded, and his troops were retiring in disorder upon the Forum Gallorum (Castel-Franco), when Hirtius appearing at the head of twenty cohorts again turned the tide of victory. During this double action Octavius had defended the camp against Antony's brother. The latter asserted that the young Caesar, terrified at the very first onset, had fled without his insignia, and that for two days he had not been seen again. Other narratives on the contrary spoke highly of his courage; he had seized, it was said, a standard and had long carried it in the thickest of the fray.[2] The soldiers conferred the title of Imperator on their three leaders.

THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.[1]

The two armies re-entered their lines; it was necessary,

[1] Statue in the Vatican (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, i. pl. 39).

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 67. That writer shows a strange partiality for Antony. (Cf. Dion, xlvi. 37; Suet., *Octav.* 10; Cic., *Philipp.* xiv.; *Ad Fam.* x. 11, 30, 33.)

however, to make haste in relieving the place unless they wished famine to open the gates. Antony pressed it closely; nothing could enter or leave it; nets spread in the Secchia and Panaro intercepted the communications which bold swimmers had at first established. "But," says Pliny, "Antony was not master of the air;" carrier-pigeons bore the messages of Decimus Brutus

MEDALLION REPRESENTING NUMATIUS PLANCUS AND THE GENIUS OF LYONS.[1]

into the consuls' camp.[2] Hirtius and Octavius, urged by him to throw aid into the town, attacked and broke through the enemy's lines (27th of April). Hirtius fell in this combat; his colleague Pansa died next day of the wounds he had received in the first action.[3]

Before the engagement, a report had spread at Rome that one of the consuls had been defeated, and some of Antony's friends, in order to prepare for a movement against Cicero, set on foot the

[1] M. de Witte, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, 1877. The word *Feliciter* is the conseerating word pronouneed by Plancus that his offering may bring good fortune to the new eolony. As for the name of *Lugdunum*, it has been derived from two Gallic words, *lug dun*, roek or hill of the raven. Thus the medallion shows a raven upon a roek. But Baron Raverat and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville dispute this etymology.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 53; Dion, xlvi. 36.

[3] The death of the two eonsuls was an event too favorable to Octavius for him not to have been accused of having eaused it. He was said to have himself struek Hirtius in the mêlée and caused poison to be spread on Pansa's wounds (Suet., *Octav.* 11; Tae., *Ann.* i. 10).

report that on the 22d of April the old ex-consul would cause himself to be elected dictator. On that very day the news of the first battle arrived; Cicero forthwith obtained a vote of thanksgiving to the gods, of rewards to the troops, and a monument to consecrate the memory of those who had fallen in defending their country.[1] When the result of the second battle was heard the people flocked to his house and led him to the Capitol with great acclamations. One would have said that the real victor was the eloquent old man who had forced the Senate to fight and win. "This day," he wrote to Brutus, "has repaid me for all my troubles."[2] The war indeed seemed at an end; Antony fled towards the Alps, throwing open the prisons along his way to recruit his army with all the miscreants therein.[3] But Decimus, now set free, was in full pursuit; Plancus, restored to the Senate's party, and having just founded the Colony of Lugdunum (Lyons), was on his way across the Alps with an army to close Gaul against him, and Lepidus had renewed his protestations of fidelity. All reserve was now abandoned, and ten senators, under the presidency of Cicero, were appointed to examine the acts of Antony; this was a first step towards the abolition of even Caesar's acts.[4] The friends of the fugitive proconsul were troubled; his wife Fulvia was called to account for his ill-gotten wealth, and the prudent Atticus hastened to tender his services to her.[5]

IV. — Formation of the Second Triumvirate; the Proscriptions; Death of Cicero (43 B.C.).

Amid this rejoicing and festivity Octavius was almost forgotten. It was in the name of Decimus Brutus that fifty days of thanksgiving[6] were decreed; the conduct of the war was even taken from Octavius and intrusted to the general whom he had just saved, although Brutus had, as he himself said, only shadows

[1] This Philippic was the fourteenth and last.

[2] *Ad Brut.* 3.

[3] Cic., *Ad Fam.* xi. 10; App., *Bell civ.* iv. 78.

[4] Πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καισαρος διατεταγμένων. (App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 82.)

[5] Corn. Nepos, *Att.* 9.

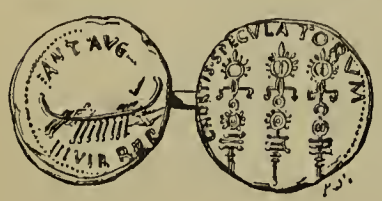
[6] Cic., *Ad Fam.* xi. 18; App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 74; Dion. xlvi. 39.

and phantoms rather than soldiers. The successes of Cassius in Asia, of Brutus in Macedon, and of Sextus Pompeius on the sea, increased the general confidence; moreover two legions were about to arrive from Africa; what need had the Senate of that *boy?*

ANTONY.[1]

Upon his death-bed, the consul Pansa, it is said, had sent for Octavius to come to him; and after speaking of his gratitude to Caesar, and of the desire which he had constantly cherished some day to avenge the murdered dictator, he had added that, in his judgment, there remained for Octavius, hated as he was by the Senate, but one path of safety open, namely, a reconciliation with Antony.[2] These warnings were not needed by the young aspirant. When Brutus came to thank him for the safety which he owed him: "It is not for your sake," he replied, "that I have taken up arms; the murder of my father was an execrable crime: I fought only to humble the pride and ambition of Antony." From that day Decimus wrote to Cicero to mistrust this zealous son. Octavius, indeed, satisfied with having shown the world that he must be taken account of, was unwilling to crush Caesar's old lieutenant altogether; he allowed Ventidius to lead to him across the Apennines two legions raised in Lower Italy. And Antony being tamely pursued, reached unhindered the town of Frejus, where he put an end to the indecision of Lepidus by gaining over his troops (29th of May). Juventus Laterensis, a zealous republican, and a friend of that general, had hitherto dissuaded him from this alliance; when he now saw the two leaders embrace one another, he stabbed himself with his sword. Decimus Brutus was too weak to contend with his raw levies against this imposing force, which was further augmented shortly after, by the defection of Asinius Pollio, the governor of Spain, and of Plan-

COIN OF ANTONY'S FIRST LEGION.[3]



LEGIONARY COIN OF ANTONY.[4]

LEGIONARY COIN OF ANTONY.[5]

[1] Head of Antony, from a coin.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 78.

[3] LEG. PRI; eagle between two standards. Silver coin.

[4] ANT(onius) AVG(ur) IIIVIR R(ei) P(ublicae) C(onstituendae), and a galley. On the reverse, CHORTIS SPECVLATORVM; three military standards surmounted by crowns.

[5] CHORTIVM PRAETORIARVM; eagle between two standards.

cus, governor of Gallia Comata; and Antony found himself at the head of twenty-three legions.

Then it became absolutely necessary to remember Octavius. To detain him until the arrival of Cassius and Brutus, whose return was ordered by a decree of the Senate, Cicero wished to load him, to overwhelm him with honors.[1] He caused an ovation to be decreed him; this was a means to separate him from his legions, for it was usual, after the triumph, for the general to

ROMAN RUINS AT FREJUS — THE AMPHITHEATRE.

disband his troops. An attempt was also made to work upon his soldiers; lands were offered them, and money, and especially discharges from the army, and the effort was made to sow discord in their ranks by giving to some and refusing others. Finally, Octavius, having left his camp for a few days, deputies from the Senate appeared therein. The soldiers refused to listen to them, but themselves sent to Rome a deputation of four hundred veterans who declared in the curia that their chief, being exempted by a senatus-consultum from the *lex Annalis*, desired to come and canvass

[1] *Caesarem Laudandum et tollendum.* The last word has two meanings, of which one is sinister (Vell. Paterc., ii. 62; Suet., *Octav.* 12).

the consulship. The permission to do so was refused: "If you do not grant it," said one of them, laying his hand on his sword, "this will obtain it for him;"[1] and they returned to Octavius, who forthwith crossed the Rubicon with eight legions.

The Senate tried to stop him by a humble embassy, which granted everything, even to a largess of twenty-five hundred drachmae apiece for the soldiers, a reward for their insolent bravado. As these humiliating concessions proved ineffectual, they assumed the grand courage of former days: they put on the garb of war; all the citizens were armed, and some earth was disturbed on the Janiculum in order to raise fortifications there. The praetor Cornutus, a zealous republican, manifested warlike ardor; he reckoned on the two legions which had just landed from Africa; but as soon as the young Caesar appeared they went over to him. The same day he entered the city amid the plaudits of the populace, and the senators hastened to pay their court to him. Cicero arrived late: "What," said Octavius ironically, "you appear last among my friends?" On the following night Cicero fled from Rome, whilst Cornutus slew himself.

A popular assembly proclaimed Octavius consul, giving him the colleague whom he himself had selected, his relative Pedius (22d of September, 43), together with the right of choosing the praefect of the city; and he had not yet completed his twentieth year![2] He at once obtained the ratification of his adoption, the repeal of the proscription pronounced against Dolabella, and the distribution among his troops,[3] at the expense of the public treasury, of the promised rewards. Pedius on his side proposed an inquiry into the murder of Caesar; in order to reach Sextus Pompeius he included in the accusation the murderers and their accomplices, even those who had been absent from Rome at the time when the deed was committed. The trial commenced immediately, M. Junius Brutus being accused by Cornificius, and Cassius by Agrippa. They were all condemned to banishment and the loss of their

[1] This is the same speech already attributed to one of Caesar's centurions, and is perhaps no more authentic than the other.

[2] *Consulatum iniit Caesar pridie quam viginti annos impleret* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 65).

[3] Twenty-five hundred drachmae to each soldier. "Hence the custom of giving the like sum to the soldiers of every legion which enters Rome in arms after having proclaimed an imperator" (Dion, xl. 46).

property.[1] Among the senators only one had dared to defend them; a few months later he paid for his boldness with his life.[2]

Octavius was now in a position to treat with Antony without fearing to be eclipsed by him. He was consul, he had an army, he was master of Rome, and round him had gathered all those among the Caesarians whom Antony's violence or unsteadiness had driven from him. The interest of Octavius enforced this alliance upon him, for alone he could not have contended against the twenty legions which Brutus and Cassius had already assembled in the East. Pedius made the first advances; he caused the repeal of the sentence of outlawry pronounced against Lepidus and Antony.[3] It was this news which had decided the defection of Plancus. Decimus, abandoned by him, and shortly afterwards by all his soldiers, endeavored to escape into Macedonia in disguise; being recognized and seized near Aquileia by a Gallic chief, he solicited an interview with his former companion in arms. Antony replied by ordering the head of the fugitive to be sent to him; and he then announced to Octavius that he had just sacrificed this victim to the manes of Caesar. This was the second who fell.[4] After such an exchange of courtesies, Lepidus had little trouble in arranging a settlement, which secret emissaries had doubtless been preparing since the battle of Modena.

At the end of October the three leaders met near Bologna, in an island of the Reno,[5] the banks of which were lined on each side by five legions. The strictest precautions were taken, as afterwards in the Middle Ages, against treachery. They passed three days in drawing up the plan of the second triumvirate and arranging the division of the Roman world among them. Octavius was to resign the consulship and to be replaced in that office for the remainder of the year by Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant.

VENTIDIUS.[6]

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 95; Dion, xlvi. 45.

[2] Livy, *Epit.* cxx.; Dion, xlvi. 48; Vell. Paterc., ii. 69.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 96.

[4] Trebonius had been the first. A third tyrannicide, Basilus, was about this time slain by his slaves, whom he treated cruelly (App., *ibid.* 98). A fourth, Aquila, had perished before Modena (Mutina).

[5] Probably at Crocetta del Trebbo, two miles west of Bologna, where an islet five hundred yards long is to be seen (Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88).

[6] P. VENTIDI PONT. IMP.; soldier standing. Reverse of a silver coin of Antony.

A new magistracy was created, under the name of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius[1] assumed to themselves the consular power for five years, with the right of disposing of all offices for the same period; their decrees were to have the force of law, without needing the confirmation of either the Senate or the people; and finally, each reserved for himself two provinces near Italy: Lepidus took Narbonensis and Hither Spain; Antony, the two Gauls; Octavius, Africa with Sicily and Sardinia. The East, being occupied by Brutus and Cassius, remained undivided, as did Italy; but Octavius and Antony were to go and fight the murderers, whilst Lepidus remained at Rome and watched over the interests of the association. The triumvirs had forty-three legions; in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they pledged themselves to give them five thousand drachmae apiece after the war, with the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy, among others Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Capua, Ariminum, and Vibona.[3] When these conditions had been drawn up in writing, and each had sworn to observe them, Octavius read aloud to the troops the conditions of the treaty; to cement the alliance, the soldiery required him to marry one of Fulvia's daughters.[5] The army, in fact, had inherited the sovereignty of the people; it deliberated, approved, or rejected. The camp replaced the Forum, — to the great danger of discipline and order, not to say of liberty. Of late, since the great event of the ides, the word, if not the thing itself, had often reappeared. But the last of Rome's citizens, the man who had just made a free voice heard, was already proscribed.

ANTONY TRIUMVIR.[2]

LEPIDUS TRIUMVIR.[4]

By that inexorable fatality of historic expiations which we have so often pointed out, the senatorial party was about to suffer by the law it had made for its opponents. The proscriptions and

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 2; Dion, xlvi. 55.

[2] M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony; behind it the augur's *lituus*. Gold coin.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 3; Tac., *Ann.* i. 10.

[4] M. LEPIDVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Lepidus; behind it, a *simpulum* and sprinkler. Gold coin.

[5] Clodia, born of a former marriage of Fulvia with the turbulent Clodius.

confiscations of Sylla were to begin again; but it was now the nobility who were to pay with their lives and fortunes for the crime of the ides of March and for the torrents of blood with which forty years before the oligarchy had deluged Rome and Italy.

In later times it was related that many prodigies had announced the triumvirs' fury. One of these may well be called true: vultures, it was said, came and alighted on the temple consecrated to the genius of the Roman people. Birds of prey were indeed gathering together, greedy for carnage.

Before reaching Rome the triumvirs sent an order in advance to the consul Pedius to put to death seventeen of the most considerable men in the State, Cicero being among the number. Then they arrived one after another. Octavius entered first; on the following day Antony appeared; Lepidus came third. Each man was surrounded by a legion and his praetorian cohort. The inhabitants beheld with terror these silent soldiers taking possession of every point commanding the city. Rome seemed like a place conquered and given over to the sword. One more day passed in cruel anxiety; a few men, assembled in the Forum by a tribune, passed a plebiscitum which confirmed the usurpation by legalizing the triumvirate (November 27).[1] On the following night this edict was posted throughout the city: "M. Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen triumvirs for the reconstitution of the Republic, thus declare:[2] Had not the perfidy of the wicked answered benefits by hatred; had not those whom Caesar in his clemency spared after their defeat, enriched, and loaded with honors, become his murderers, we too should disregard those who have declared us public enemies. But perceiving that their malignity can be conquered by no benefits, we have chosen to forestall our enemies rather than be taken unawares by them. Some have already been punished; with the help of the gods we shall bring the rest to justice. Being ready to undertake an expedition against the parricides beyond the seas, it has seemed to us and will appear to you necessary that we should not leave other enemies behind us. Yet we will be more merciful than a former Imperator, who also restored the ruined Republic, and whom you hailed with the name of Felix.

[1] *C. I. L.*, i. 466: *Fasti colotiani.* [2] Οὕτω λέγουσιν (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 8).

Not all the wealthy, not all who have held office, will perish, but only the most dangerous evil-doers. These offenders we might have seized unawares; but for your sakes we have preferred to draw up a list of proscribed persons rather than to order an execution by the troops, in which harm might have come to the innocent. This then is our order: Let no one hide any of those whose names follow; whosoever shall aid in the escape of a proscribed man shall be himself proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. As a reward, a man of free condition shall receive twenty-five thousand Attic drachmae, a slave ten thousand, together with freedom and the name of citizen. The names of persons receiving these rewards shall be kept secret."

GENIUS OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.[1]

Then followed the list of one hundred and thirty names; a second, containing one hundred and fifty, appeared almost immediately afterwards; and this was succeeded by others. Senators received the honor of a separate list. Their names were not, as in Sylla's time, mingled with those of common *proscripti;* and it is not certain that some did not value this distinction even in death.[2]

Before daybreak guards had been posted at the gates and in all places which might serve for refuge. To deprive the condemned of all hope of pardon, at the head of the first list stood the names of the brother of Lepidus, of L. Caesar, Antony's uncle,[3]

[1] Statue in the National Museum at Naples; it comes from the Farnese Collection.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 4.

[3] This Lepidus and L. Caesar, cousin of the dictator, had been the first to vote for the *senatus-consultum* which declared the brother of one and the nephew of the other public enemies (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 12).

of a brother of Planeus, of Pollio's father-in-law, and of C. Toranius, one of the guardians of Octavius. Each of the triumvirs had given up one of his relatives to gain the right of indulging his own vengeance without stint. They kept their accounts with scrupulous exactness; such or such a head claimed by one appeared to the others to be worth two or three; they bargained, they agreed, and the three heads were given to balance the account. As in the fatal days of Marius and Sylla, the rostra had its hideous trophies; thither the heads must be carried to receive the blood-money. Hatred, envy, greed, all evil passions were let loose, and it was easy to get a name inserted in the fatal list or to hide the corpse of a murdered enemy amid those of the proscribed. The toga was given to children in order to release their property from tutelage before the time, and then they were condemned. A head was brought to Antony. "I do not know it," he said; "let it be taken to my wife." It was that of a wealthy private individual who had refused to sell one of his villas to Fulvia. One woman, in order to marry a friend of Antony, caused her husband to be proscribed, and gave him up herself. A son revealed the hiding-place of his father, a praetor in office, and was rewarded with the aedileship. C. Toranius asked the assassins for a respite of a few moments to send his son to entreat Antony's clemency. "But it is your son," they answered,

THE TRIUMVIRS.[1]

FULVIA.[2]

FULVIA.[3]

[1] Heads of Octavius, Antony; and Lepidus side by side on a bronze coin of Ephesus.

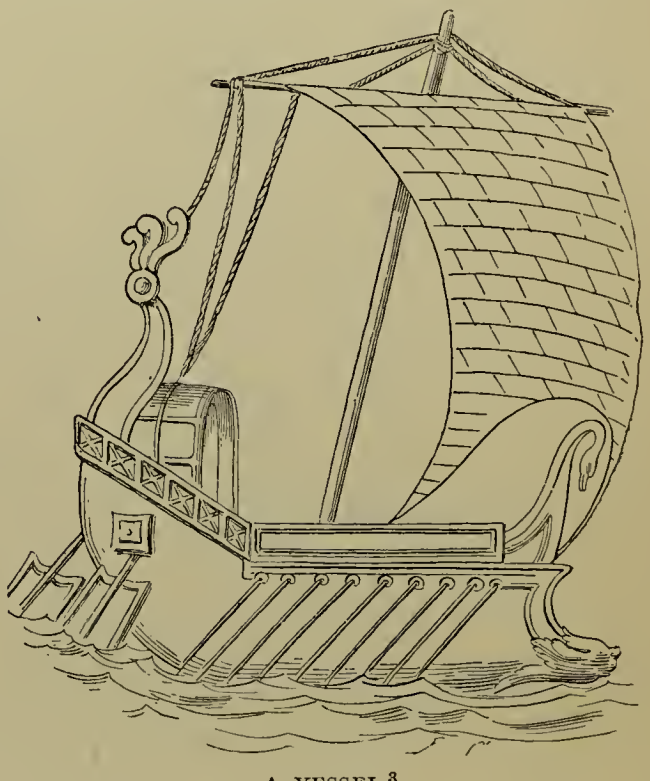
[2] Head of Fulvia as Victory. On the reverse, C. NVMONIVS VAALA; soldier attacking an intrenchment.

[3] Fulvia, Antony's first wife, with the attributes of victory, the wings and shield. From a very rare bronze coin bearing the inscription, ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ [Fulvianorum] (*Revue Numism.*, 1853, pl. x. No. 5).

"who demanded your death." The tribune Salvius was killed at table, and the murderers obliged the guests to continue the banquet.[1] Verres perished at this time; Antony wished to have his Corinthian bronzes. Plancus had hidden himself near Salernum; but he could not give up the delicacies of life and the perfumes which disclosed his retreat, and in order to save his slaves, who were put to torture, he gave himself up.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS.[2]

There were, however, some noble instances of devotion, — Varro was saved by his friends, others by their slaves; Appius by his son, whose filial piety the people afterwards rewarded by giving him the aedileship. Antony's mother, the sister of L. Caesar, threw herself before the murderers, crying: "You shall not slay Lucius Caesar till you have first killed me, — me, the mother of your general." He had time to flee and hide himself, and a decree of the consul erased his name from the list of the proscribed. Many escaped, thanks to the ships of Sextus Pompeius, who had just taken possession of Sicily, and whose fleet was cruising along the coasts. He had caused a notice to be posted in Rome itself, where the triumvirs promised one hundred thousand sesterces for a head,



A VESSEL.[3]

[1] Dion, xlvii. 5, 6; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 12–51. The latter speaks of three hundred senators and two thousand knights being proscribed. The numbers are less in Livy (*Epit.* cxx.); there mention is only made of one hundred and thirty senators.

[2] From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 184.

[3] Ship with lifts, sail, and ram (Rich, *Dict. des Antiq.*, etc., under the word *Ceruchi*).

that he would give two hundred thousand for each proscribed man saved. Several succeeded in reaching Africa, Syria, and Macedon. Cicero was less fortunate; Octavius had abandoned him to Antony's rancor, — with regret, however, for it was a useless murder. Since they were about to impose silence in the Forum, what was an orator without a platform? A voice without echo, which would grow silent of its own accord. But Antony and Fulvia would have the hand which had written and the tongue which had spoken the Philippics, and Octavius had called to mind the joyful cry uttered by Cicero at the news of the murder of Caesar, his homicidal regret at not having been able to strike too. By a just retribution, he who, except in one instance, was more distinguished for humanity than any other Roman, was about to meet the fate which he had wished to inflict on a greater man than himself: *pati legem quam fecit.*[1]

Cicero was at Tusculum with his brother Quintus. At the first news of the proscriptions they hastened to Astura, where stood another of his villas, situated on a little island which was so near the mainland that it has since become united to it. Thence they proposed to embark for Greece; but they lacked means for the journey, and Quintus returned to obtain what was necessary. He reached the city, but was at once seized by the assassins and slain, together with his son, who had vainly striven to save his father's life. At Astura Cicero found a vessel which carried him to Circeii. There despair seized him; he went ashore exclaiming: "I will die in this country which I have so often saved."[2] He formed a design of returning to Rome, secretly penetrating into the house of Octavius, and there killing himself, that he might attach an avenging fury to the young Caesar's life. His servants, however, persuaded him to go on as far as his house at Formiae,

[1] Livy says of Cicero's death: *Quae vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunae compos item fecisset* (Fragm. of Book cxx.).

[2] *Moriar in patria saepe servata* (Livy, *Fragm.* cxx.). The historian adds: *Omnium adversorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit praeter mortem* (cf. Quintil., *Inst.* xii. 1, and Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 65, who is very hostile to him). On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 66), under Tiberius, and Juvenal (viii. 237), under Trajan, are very favorable to him. It is strange that Tacitus never mentions his name except in the *Dialogue of Orators* (40), and incidentally in the speech of Cremutius Cordus (*Ann.* iv. 34).

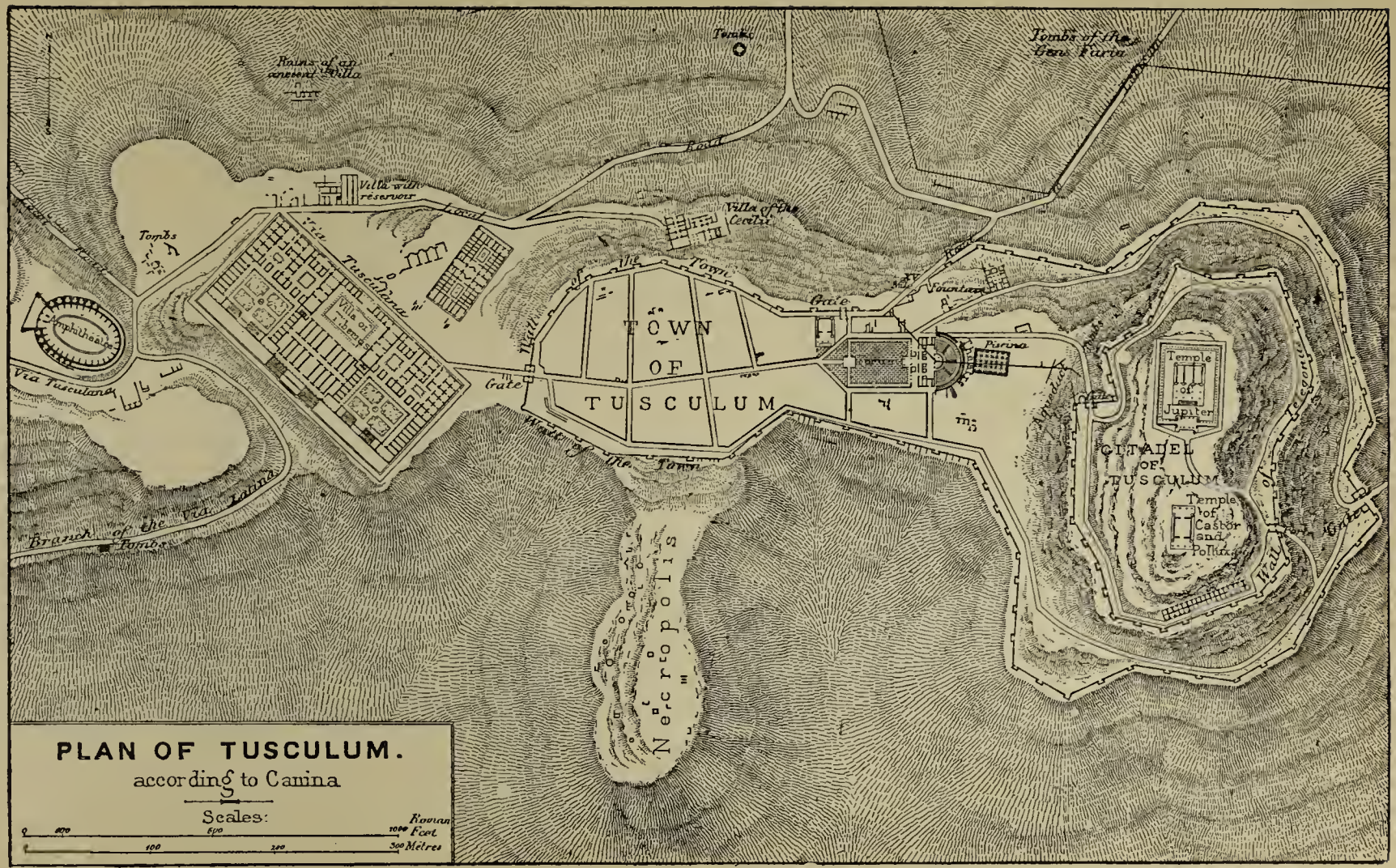
where he landed to repose for a short time after the fatigues of the voyage.[1]

Scarcely had he got into his litter again, to return to the vessel, when the assassins arrived, led by a centurion named Herennius, and Popillius, a legionary tribune whom he had formerly saved from an accusation of parricide. They burst in the doors; but as all in the house asserted that they had seen nothing of their master, the assassins were undecided what to do; when a young man named Philologus, whom Cicero had himself instructed in literature, told the tribune that the litter was being carried towards the sea through the shady walks behind the house. Popillius, with a few soldiers, ran down to reach the shore before it, whilst the rest of the band, with Herennius, hastened along the passage. The noise of their steps warned Cicero that he was discovered; he stopped his litter, and stroking his chin with his left hand as he was wont to do, looked steadily at the murderers. His disordered hair and his pale and wasted countenance made the soldiers hesitate, and they covered their faces while Herennius struck. He had put his head out of the litter and presented his throat to the murderer (4th of December, 43). "Of all his misfortunes," says Livy, "he bore none of them as a man should, except his death."

In accordance with Antony's orders, his head and hands were cut off and brought to the triumvir while he was at table. At sight of them he expressed a savage satisfaction; and when he had satiated himself with the cruel spectacle, ordered them to be fastened above the rostra. Crowds flocked to see them, as they had lately done to hear the great orator, but with tears and groans. Octavius himself was secretly grieved at the death of Cicero; and although during his reign none ever dared pronounce that great name, as a reparation he gave the consulship to the son of his former enemy.

On one occasion he even bore witness to Cicero's virtues. "I have been told," relates Plutarch, "that, several years afterwards, Augustus, visiting one of his nephews, found him with a work of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, for fear, hid the book under his

[1] Formiae (*Mola di Gaeta*) is four miles from Gaëta. There may still be seen there, about a mile from the shore, some remains of Cicero's villa, and the inhabitants point out an obelisk which they assert is his tomb (Eustace, *Classical Tour*, ii. 313). He lacked but twenty-nine days of completing his sixty-fourth year.



L. Thuillier *Del*

robe; which Caesar perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book standing, gave it him again and said: 'My child, this was a learned man and a lover of his country.'" [1]

Thus perished, in the splendor of his talent, the prince of Roman orators and one of the most honorable men who ever adorned literature, — one of those whose writings have most contributed to the moral development of humanity.

Doubtless Cicero cannot be counted among really great minds. As a philosopher his part is small; he expounds and discusses, without advancing views of his own, the opinions of the different schools. He says this himself in one of his letters to Atticus: "I have little trouble about it, for I only furnish the words, of which I have an abundance." [2] His treatise *De Officiis* is a Latin gospel; but he copied Panaetios. Part of his works on rhetoric are translated or imitated from the Greeks. His treatises on laws are rather a brilliant summary of Roman legislation than a theory in the style of Aristotle or Plato; and his mind has such difficulty in rising above present things, that in the Republic, the most original of his works, he shows the ideal of the best government fully realized in the constitution of Rome. Possessing a supple and brilliant intellect, he lacks depth and breadth; he is above all things an artist in language.

As a philosopher, he may be blamed for many contradictions; as a consul, for many errors; as an individual, for many weaknesses.

His philosophy was like Janus, double-faced, — having one doctrine for the profane, the other for the initiated. In the peroration of the Verrine Orations he retains the gods and the old beliefs as oratorical properties; in his political treatises as a useful instrument of government; in the Tusculan Questions and in the treatise concerning the Nature of the Gods paganism is no longer aught but a tissue of fables and symbols; and in the two books on Divination the public religion is so completely destroyed with

[1] Atticus, Cicero's great friend, did not perish with him. We have seen how he took his precautions with Antony by aiding with his wealth the triumvir's wife, who during the siege of Modena had remained at Rome without any resources. This clever man, the friend of the tyrannicide, married his only daughter to Agrippa and his granddaughter to Tiberius. Accordingly, he had taken great care to destroy all his correspondence with Cicero, in which the new rulers might have read his homicidal wishes against Caesar.

[2] *Ad Att.* xii. 52: *Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.*

deadly irony that those who still honored the old faith demanded the burning of that work. The conclusion naturally reached by himself and his readers from these contradictory data is that men must doubt, because certain problems are insoluble.

In politics his view did not extend beyond a limited horizon. He knew better than any other man the vices of the nobles and of their government; but as a *novus homo* he served their interests in order to induce them to accept him. A great orator, he grew intoxicated with his own eloquence, and dreamed of governing an empire with speeches. Had he possessed the master quality of the statesman, the art of discovering the real wants of his times, he would have placed his fine abilities at the service of the new ideas, and aided Caesar in carrying out a pacific reform which would have averted the bloody revolution of the second triumvirate; but with Caesar he would have occupied only a second place, and he wished to be first in everything.

His correspondence reveals serious faults, — a feminine vanity,[1] skill in compromises, and an inconstancy which made him pass in a few days from one belief to the very opposite;[2] but what man seen as he is, — the secrecy of his inmost feelings revealed as it were in the full glare of day — would preserve that reputation for austere gravity which is sometimes only the mask of a clever schemer?

Finally, if he created nothing, at least his marvellous facility in appropriating the ideas of others has put in circulation an infinite number of grand and beautiful thoughts which we should otherwise have lost; and these ideas, collected in his works, have made him one of the great teachers of the human race.[3]

When he boasted of having snatched from Greece, now falling into decrepitude, her philosophic glory, he deceived himself. But Greek civilization had travelled towards the East. Cicero concen-

[1] The proof of this is found everywhere throughout his correspondence. See his curious letter to Lucceius, whom he urges to write the history of his famous consulship, "favoring friendship a little more than truth."

[2] At the end of October Cato was his dearest friend; at the beginning of November he would have willingly made him out to be a dishonest man, and that, too, for the very same matter: *Amicissimus meus qui honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixit* (*Ad Att.* vii. 1) . . . *qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus* (*Ibid.* 2). Seneca said: *In Cicerone constantia desideratur* (*Suasor.* 11, 12).

[3] Alexander Severus, in his *Lararium*, places him beside Moses and Plato (Lamp., *Alex. Sev.* 31). "After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass upon his conduct, we must

trated, if I may so say, its scattered rays, and sent them back towards the barbaric West, for which Greece had done nothing.[1] What does it matter to us, after all, that he was only an echo, since that ringing echo has made all the world listen to words which, but for him, would have remained unknown?

In his ethics and theology we find the idea of unity and of divine providence, of the immortality of the soul,[2] of human liberty and responsibility, of punishments and rewards reserved for another life.

In political morality we have the idea of universal citizenship, whereof charity should be the chief bond, the perfecting of our species, the necessity for all to work for the general good, and the obligation to found the useful upon the honorable, law upon equity, sovereignty upon justice, — that is to say, the civil upon the natural law revealed by God himself, since he has graven it on the hearts of all men.[3] Such are some of the noble beliefs which the magic of his style has popularized. All this, it is true, is neither rigorously demonstrated nor dogmatically systematized. It is the effort of a noble soul which, everywhere seeking what elevates and consoles, arrives at the truths of natural religion, and not the patient work of the philosopher constructing a coherent system. But to speak to the heart, a great array of logic is not necessary.

I willingly agree with Quintilian: "A man grows better by delighting in Cicero;"[4] and with Dante, that posterity will always preserve his name: —

> "De cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura
> E durera, quanto 'l mondo lontana."[5]

acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example" (Merivale, iii. 192).

[1] He himself says in his *Pro Archia* (100): "What is written in Greek is read almost everywhere; the Latin never quits its territory, which is a small one."

[2] On this life to come and on the government of the world by providence he has often doubts in his treatises, but not in his orations; and it is his orations especially which are read.

[3] It has been said of Cicero that he was one of the representatives of that Christianity before Christ which has so often been noticed, and of which Plato was, as it were, the apostle. Erasmus, indeed, is quite ready to demand his canonization; he does not doubt . . . *quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt aliqua divinitas occuparit* (Le Clerc, *Œuvres de Cicéron*, xxviii. 7). Petrarch had already spoken to the same effect (Mezières, *Pétrarque*, pp. 345, 414, 416). On the subject of Cicero's moral ideas considered as a whole, see a very learned chapter by M. Havet, — *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, ii. 110–142, chap. xi.

[4] *Institut.* x. 1: *Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.*

[5] *Inferno*, ii. 59–60.

In those bloody saturnalia of the second triumvirate, Octavius, notwithstanding his youth, had displayed extreme cruelty; as he was the most intelligent, on him falls the heaviest share of the responsibility. The murder, above all, of the man whom he had called his father, who had watched over his first steps and obtained for him his first honors, leaves on his name a blot which is not effaced by all the glory of the reign of Augustus. This blood stains the hand which has shed it, and "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten" it.[1]

[1] Shakspeare, *Macbeth*, act v. scene 1.

[2] From an agate in the National Museum of Naples, pl. 106. (See above, on p. 424, the influence of Greek art on the transformation of the ancient Medusa.)

HEAD OF MEDUSA.[2]

CHAPTER LX.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (43-36 B.C.).

I. — Preparations of the Triumvirs and the Murderers.

DURING the days of blood Lepidus and Plancus, the consuls-elect, had issued an edict, ordering, under threat of proscription, all men to observe the customary festivals of the new year. They even had the courage to celebrate each of them a triumph for some insignificant successes won in Spain and Gaul. The soldiers, punning on the double meaning of the word *germanus*, which means a brother as well as a German, sang behind their chariot: "The consuls triumph not over the Gauls, but over the Germans," — that is, over their brothers. Each of them indeed had given up a brother to the murderers. The soldiers knew themselves to be necessary,[1] and felt that their leaders, in tolerating so much insolence, were paying none too dearly for the power which had

LEPIDUS.[1]

[1] Ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 35).

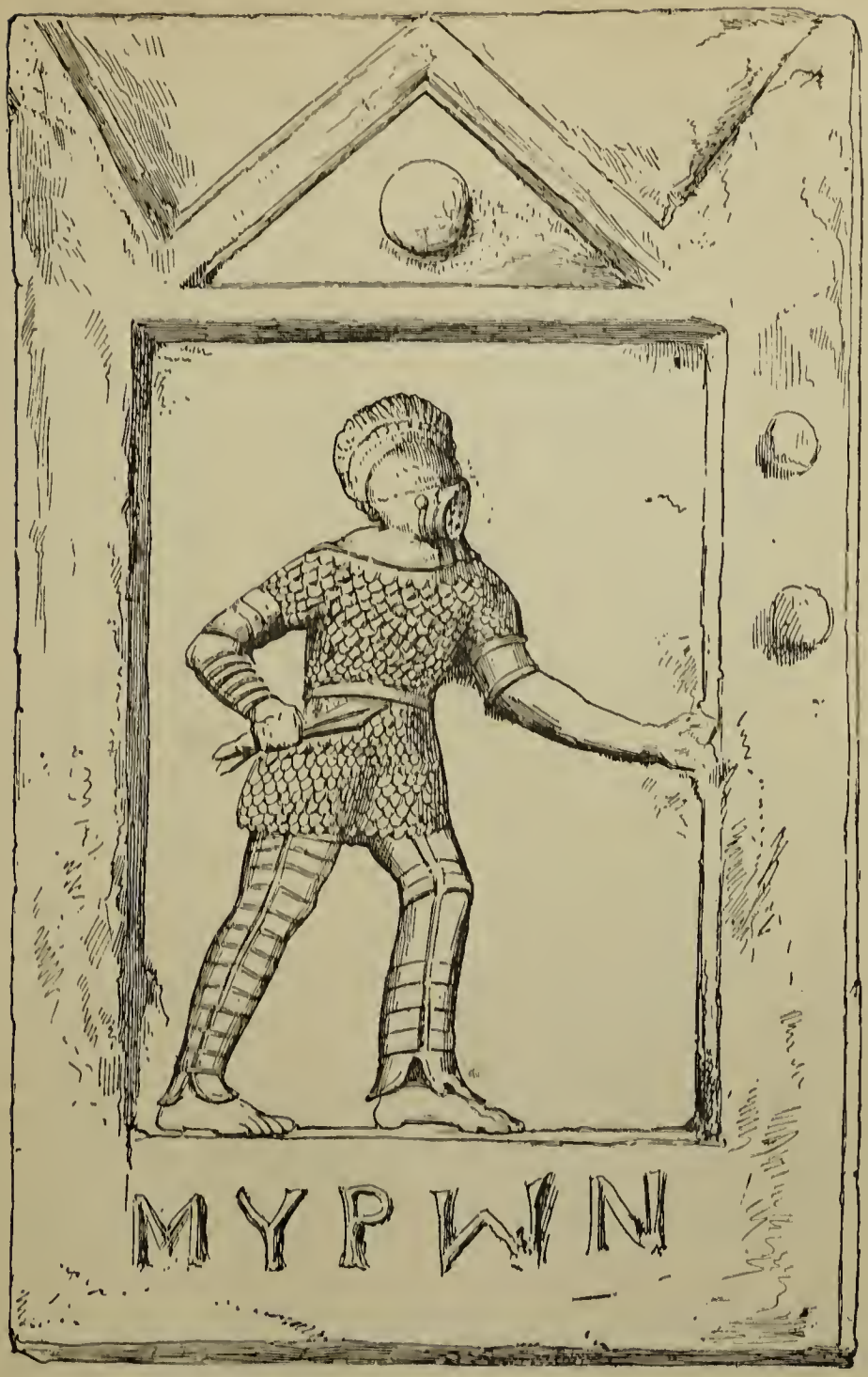
[2] Bust in the Parma Museum, published by the *Gazette archéol.* 1879, pl. 9.

been conferred on them. The army would scarcely allow the property of the proscribed to be sold. One would have a villa, another an estate; this man took the house, that man the money and slaves. Some forced wealthy citizens to adopt them that they might become their heirs; others, less patient, slew the man, proscribed or not, whose fortune they coveted. Fortunate were those who only suffered the plundering of their houses. The whole city was in terror before this soldiery, recruited from robbers, gladiators, and slaves escaped from their prisons. One of the consuls was, however, bold enough to crucify some of these legionary slaves.

Save for this noise of soldiers, a deadly silence reigned round the three masters of Rome. Certain women are said to have dared to break it. To fill the military chest, which stood in need of eighty million sesterces, a heavy contribution had been imposed on fourteen hundred of the richest matrons. Led by Hortensia, the daughter of the orator, these ladies repaired to the Forum, and made their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs. Hortensia spoke. "Before presenting ourselves before you," she said, "we have solicited the intervention of Fulvia; her refusal has obliged us to come hither. You have taken away our fathers, our children, our brothers, our husbands; to deprive us of our fortune also is to reduce us to a condition which befits neither our birth, nor our habits, nor our sex; it is to extend your proscriptions to us. But have we then raised soldiers against you, or sought after your offices? Do we dispute the power for which you are fighting? From the time of Hannibal Roman woman have willingly given to the treasury their jewels and ornaments; let the Gauls or the Parthians come, and there will be found in us no less patriotism. But do not ask us to contribute to this fratricidal war which is rending the Republic; neither Marius, nor Cinna, nor even Sylla during his tyranny dared to do so."[1] The triumvirs tried to drive the orator and her companions from the spot; but the people began to be stirred, and they prudently yielded. The next day an edict appeared, reducing the number of taxed matrons to four hundred.

The political foes of the triumvirs had paid for their opposition with their lives: the rest of the people paid for their cowardly

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 32. This speech of Hortensia, like so many others of antiquity, is probably not authentic; yet Quintilian (i. 1, 6) says he read it. (Cf. Val. Max., viii. 3, 3.)



GLADIATOR FULLY ARMED.[1]

submission with a part of their possessions. All the inhabitants of Rome and of Italy, citizens and foreigners, priests and freedmen, possessed of more than one hundred thousand drachmae, *lent* the

[1] Helmet with visor, coat of mail, *lorica hammata;* the arms, thighs, and legs are guarded by bands of metal. The name reads Myron. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 629 of the Clarac Catalogue.

tithe of their property, and *gave* a year's income.[1] It is needless to add that the laws and the magistracies were treated with no more respect than property and life. "They changed the magistrates," says Dion, "they abolished the laws; they made others according to their good pleasure, so that Caesar's reign seemed to have been the golden age."[2] When, glutted with blood and rapine, the triumvirs announced that the proscription was at an end, the Senate awarded them civic crowns as saviors of their country. Octavius, who had shown himself the cruelest, reserved the right to a few more murders, declaring that he had not punished all the guilty.

SERAPIS.[3]

The last measure of the triumvirs in this terrible year was an act of devotion, — a decree for the erection of a temple to Serapis and Isis. This was a far from costly concession to the popular element, and a continuation on other grounds of the war against the nobles. The lower people sought after new gods, and they had good reason; for more

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 34. Dion (xlviii. 14) gives different numbers, but shows a still more deplorable condition of things at Rome and in Italy.

[2] . . . ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι (Dion, xlvii. 15).

[3] Found at Tivoli.

than a century their old gods had been deaf to their prayers. But the Senate disliked these foreign superstitions, which they could not direct in furtherance of their policy; they had attempted in 58 to expel Isis from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the populace had opposed them. In 53, at the time of the oligarchical reaction, another decree ordered the destruction of all chapels of the Egyptian goddess, and forbade the worship of her even in the interior of houses, a prohibition which Caesar renewed six years later. To maintain the purity of the Roman faith was the least of the triumvirs' cares; Isis was pleasing the populace, and they restored her to them.

1818.[1]

On the first of January, 42, Plancus and Lepidus entered upon the consulship; the oath to observe the laws and acts of Caesar was renewed, with great honors to his memory, festivals, temples, and a complete apotheosis. As he was declared a god,[2] there was given him a flamen, a college of Julian priests, and public sacrifices; it was forbidden to carry his image at the funerals of his relatives, since he had passed from his earthly family into that of Jupiter; the right of asylum was allowed to the *heroön*, or chapel, which was erected on the spot where his body had been

[1] Fine bronze from Herculaneum. This statuette combines the attributes of Fortune with those of the goddess Isis (*Bronzes d'Herculanum*, p. 99).

[2] Θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος (Dion, xlvii. 19).

burned, and all citizens were to celebrate the anniversary of his birth. Any man among the plebs who refused to do this was devoted to Jupiter and Caesar, — that is to say, was put to death; a senator or senator's son must pay a fine of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmae. This was the beginning of that strange legislation which under the Empire established so great a penal difference between the *honestior* and the *humilior*.[1] A difficulty arose. The festival of Apollo fell on the same day with that of Caesar, and the Sibylline oracle prescribed that on that day only the son of Latona should be honored. It was agreed that the new god should give way, that his recent divinity should not prevail against that of the older god; and Caesar's festival was fixed on the day preceding the games of Apollo.

The triumvirs distributed all the offices for the following years; then Octavius repaired to Rhegium, and Antony to Brundusium, where the fleet was only awaiting a fair wind to carry the army to Greece. Cornificius, who commanded in the name of the Senate in the old province of Africa, had just been conquered and slain by Sextius, governor of Numidia; all the West, therefore, except Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius had established himself, obeyed the triumvirs. After a futile attempt by the young Caesar against Sextus, they crossed the Ionian Sea, without any molestation from the Republican fleet, which numbered one hundred and thirty large vessels, under the orders of Mureus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Caesar had merely passed through the East, the principal scene of Pompey's glory. The latter's name was still respected there; and as the murderers of the dictator were understood to have avenged upon him his rival's death, they had found a safe asylum in these provinces, which were moreover animated with a spirit wholly differing from that of the West. On quitting Italy, Brutus had repaired to Athens, where he appeared at first wholly occupied in attending the lessons of Theomnestus the Academic, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic. But he was secretly at work, gaining the young Romans resident in that city, and distributed appointments among them without any regard to services or age; for instance, Horace, at this time scarcely twenty,

[1] See in the *Mémoires* of the *Acad. des inscripts.* (vol. xxix. part 2) my memoir on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores.*

was appointed legionary tribune.[1] As soon as it became known that Brutus was collecting soldiers, the remnants of the Pompeian legions left in Greece after Pharsalia flocked round him. A quaestor who was carrying to Rome the taxes of Asia allowed himself to be won over, and delivered up five hundred thousand drachmae, which aided Brutus in his negotiations with the troops. Five hundred horse whom Cinna was taking to Dolabella in Asia also went over to Brutus; and young Cicero, the son of the orator, raised a whole legion and gave it to him. Finally, in Demetrias he found vast collections of arms brought together by Caesar for his expedition against the Parthians.

The plebiscitum which had deprived him of the government of Macedonia was illegal, since the acts of the dictator had been confirmed. The proconsul, Q. Hortensius, recognized him as his lawful successor, and made over the command to him, — a decision which gave him a vast province, and an army in the immediate neighborhood of Italy. Antony had ordered his brother Caius to contest Greece with the Republicans, uniting with his own troops those under the command of Vatinius in Illyria. In order to prevent their junction, Brutus marched upon Dyrrachium and enticed away the soldiers of Vatinius. At Apollonia, Caius Antonius was no longer master of his own men; in the first engagement he lost three cohorts; in the second he was conquered and made prisoner by young Cicero, and was then put to death by the order of Brutus, in retaliation for the murder of Dec. Brutus, who had been sacrificed by Antony (43). An expedition against the Bessi also subjugated Thrace to the Republican general, whom his troops saluted with the title of Imperator. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, all obeyed him; and he collected in these regions sixteen thousand talents.

It must not, however, be thought that any strong affection for the Republic existed in these countries. The Athenians, who had lost everything save their eloquence, celebrated in prose and verse the act of the tyrannicides, and erected bronze statues to Brutus and Cassius at the side of those of Harmodios and Aristogiton. But the other Greeks, less fond of rhetoric and better moulded to obedience, submitted to the orders of Brutus because they saw in him

[1] Horace, *Sat.* I. vi. 48.

the lawful representative of the Roman government. Moreover, the new civil war would doubtless end in proscriptions, which would allow of plunder, and certainly in gratuities to the victors. If each of the triumvirs' soldiers had been richly rewarded for a partial victory, how much would not those of Brutus receive for a triumph which would save his head and his party? Accordingly, adventurers from all the countries on the east of the Adriatic flocked to the standard of the tyrannicides, as on the opposite shore they ranged themselves beneath the ensigns of Cæsar's avengers. Save with the leaders and their personal friends, booty was everything, and the cause nothing.

Cassius had repaired to his government of Syria, where he had left an honorable reputation behind him at the time of the expedition of Crassus, and all the troops had gone over to him. Antony's colleague, Dolabella, arrived at almost the same time in the province of Asia, where his emissaries surprised Trebonius, one of Cæsar's murderers. Trebonius demanded to be taken before the proconsul. "Let him go where he will," replied Dolabella, "on condition that he leaves his head behind him." He was tortured for two whole days, and his head was kicked about by the populace of Smyrna. But Dolabella could not maintain this first advantage; he was besieged in Laodicæa by Cassius, and on the capture of the place, not to fall alive into the enemy's hands, he ordered one of his prætorians to kill him. When this news reached Rome Cicero had already proposed the outlawry of his son-in-law; he instigated the passage of a decree confirming Brutus and Cassius in their governments, and placing under their orders all the troops scattered between the Ionian Sea and the Euphrates, with the right to raise the necessary money and to summon to their aid the contingents of allied kings.[2] In announcing to them these decrees, he urged them to return to Italy in order to free the Senate from any need of the dangerous support of Octavius. But neither of them had that resolution which doubles a man's strength. In a time of revolution, when public opinion

COIN OF LAODICEIA.[1]

[1] ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; local deity standing. Bronze coin of Laodicæa.

[2] Cassius even solicited aid of the Parthians, to whom he sent the son of Labienus, and among whom he recruited a few archers (Livy, *Epit.* cxxvii.; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 59 and 63; Dion, xlviii. 24).

RUINS OF XANTHOS (THEATRE AND TOMB). FROM SIR CHARLES FELLOWS' LYCIA, CARIA, LYDIA.

contributes so much towards success, when rashness is the one thing necessary, they desired to carry on a methodic warfare, to stop before every city, and in no case to leave behind them a shadow of resistance. Instead of responding to Cicero's appeal, Brutus sent him sarcasms on his prudence and on his connection with Octavius; he cast doubt on his courage and foresight. But whilst he was writing fine stoic sentences to him and to Atticus, events were hurrying, and the news of the formation of the triumvirate, of the proscriptions, and of Cicero's death, found Brutus with his army on the road to Asia, and Cassius marching towards Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the help she had furnished to Dolabella.

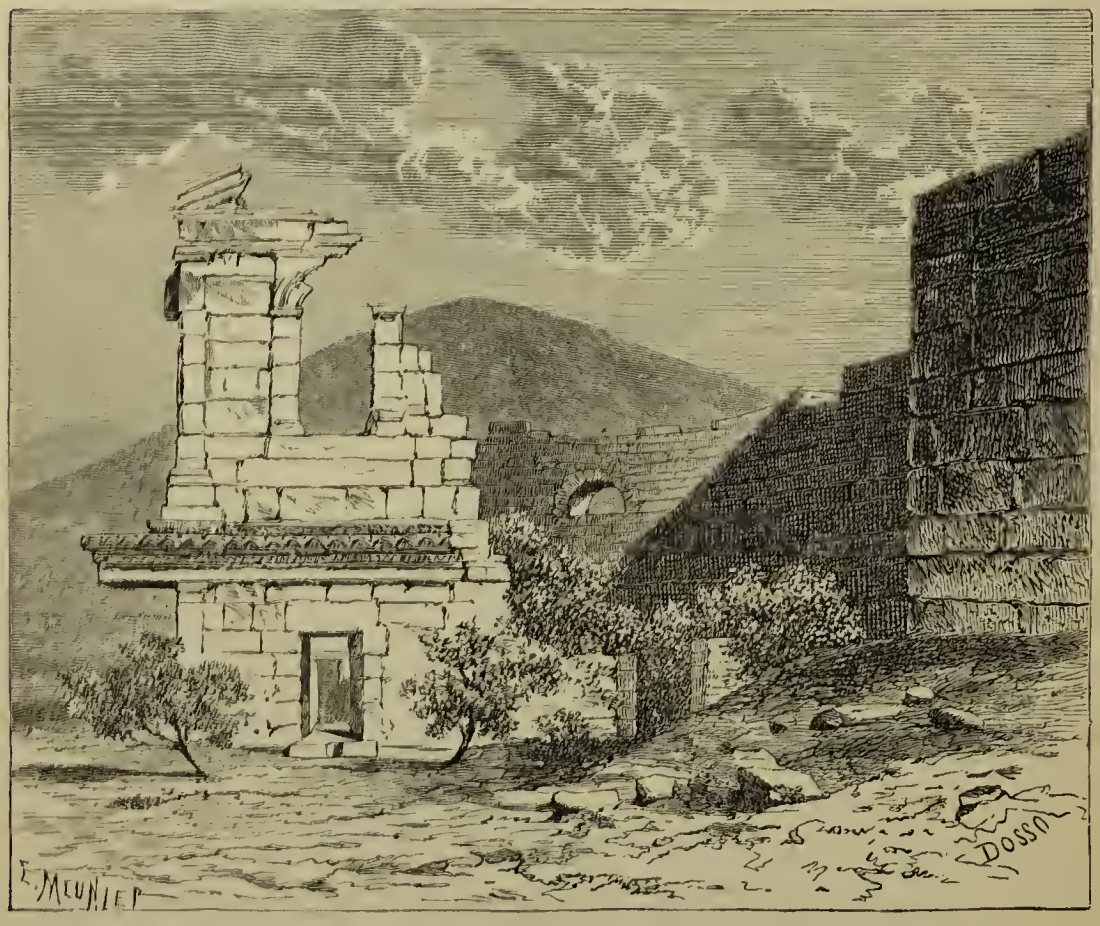
They at last recognized the necessity for uniting. At the interview at Smyrna Cassius caused his plan still to prevail of awaiting the enemy in the East, and employing the troops meanwhile in subduing the nations which offered resistance; these were the Lycians, Rhodes, and the King of Cappadocia. They divided between them the money which Cassius by his exactions had already collected, and then separated. Brutus entered Lycia, where he met with no resistance except before the town of Xanthos. Rather than surrender, the Xanthians set fire to their houses and threw themselves into the flames with their wives and children;[2] of the whole population there survived but a hundred and fifty persons. Patara in affright gave up all the gold and silver it possessed, whether in coined money or in ingots; whosoever attempted to hide his wealth was put to death. Cassius attacked Rhodes. The inhabitants invoked their title of allies of the Roman people. "By giving help to Dolabella," replied he, "you have destroyed that treaty." He overcame their fleet in two battles, and took their city, which he plundered. They besought him to leave them at least the statues of their gods. "I will leave you the sun," said he. Some consoled themselves, regarding this speech as an involuntary but certain presage of approaching death. He beheaded fifty of the principal inhabitants, and carried off from

COIN OF XANTHOS.[1]

[1] Head of the Sun; in front, a bird. On the reverse, ΞΑ, a pomegranate flower, two monograms, a thyrsus, and an unknown object. Silver coin of Xanthos.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 34.

the island eighty-five hundred talents. Already at Laodiceia he had plundered the temples and the public treasury, and put the noblest citizens to death. At Tarsus, which had taken advantage of these complications to settle an old quarrel with Adana, he had exacted fifteen hundred talents. On returning to the mainland he entered Cappadocia, where he put to death the King, Ariobarzanes, in order to seize upon his wealth, and he subjected the whole of



PATARA (RUINS OF THE THEATRE, FROM FELLOWS' LYCIA, ETC. PL. 8).

Roman Asia to the most intolerable exactions. The province was required to pay at once ten years' taxes. In Judaea he had fixed the contribution at more than seven hundred talents; and, the money not coming in quickly enough, notwithstanding Herod's zeal, the Roman caused the inhabitants of the towns to be sold.[1]

In his former government of Cisalpine Gaul, Brutus had earned by his justice the gratitude of the inhabitants, who

[1] Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 18.

erected a statue to him, and later persuaded Augustus to leave it standing; and he now attempted to mitigate the evils of the war. At Sardis, in a second interview with Cassius, he blamed the latter severely for bringing their cause into detestation. "It would have been better," said he, "to let Caesar live. If he shut his eyes to the injustice of his party, he himself at least never despoiled any one." But they had the most numerous army that Rome had ever led to battle; it was necessary to feed and pay it, and to retain soldiers and officers by yielding to all their covetous desires; so that the last chiefs of the Republic seemed to set themselves to work to prove to the nations, suffering by passions that they did not share, the necessity of a government capable of securing that most precious of all liberties, — the freedom of home, property, and life.

COIN OF SARDIS.[1]

II. — Double Battle of Philippi (Autumn, 42).

Laden with the plunder of Asia, the two armies were on their return to Europe. One night, as Brutus sat wakeful in his tent at Abydos, a spectre of strange and terrible aspect appeared before him. "Who art thou, — man, or god?" said the stoic general without a tremor. "I am thy evil genius," replied the phantom; "thou wilt meet me again on the plains of Philippi!" and it vanished. In the morning Brutus related this vision of his troubled mind to Cassius, the Epicurean, who, after the manner of Lucretius, explained to him the vain nature of dreams and apparitions. In Thrace they were joined by a native chief named Rhascuporis, who led them by the shortest road into Macedonia. They had eighty thousand infantry and twenty thousand horse, as rapacious and undisciplined as the soldiers of the triumvirs; and to animate them for the fray the generals distributed to them fifteen hundred drachmae apiece, to the centurions seventy-five hundred, and to the tribunes in proportion. About twenty thousand auxiliaries followed the nineteen legions.

A hostile army commanded by Norbanus, eight legions strong,

[1] CAPΔIC; head of the city of Sardis, veiled and turret-crowned. Bronze coin.

had intrenched itself in the defiles of the Sapaei. Guided by the Thracian Rhascuporis, the army turned this position, making their way by the most difficult mountain-paths; Norbanus escaped by rapidly falling back upon Amphipolis, which Antony was approaching; but in so doing he abandoned the strong position of Philippi to his foes.

PROSPERPINE GATHERING FLOWERS.[2]

A plain eight leagues in length from north to south, and four leagues across from east to west, surrounded on three sides by mountains covered with majestic forests, formed an immense amphitheatre which Nature herself seemed to have prepared for a bloody arena.[1] The ancients called this place the gate of Europe and Asia, because it was the best passage from one continent to the other; and there the Greeks placed the scene of the poetic legend of Proserpine carried off by Pluto as she was gathering flowers in that fertile plain.[3] Here camped the last army of the Republic and the first soldiers of the Empire.

COIN OF PHILIPPI (GOLD).[4]

COIN OF PHILIPPI (SILVER).

The Republicans occupied a formidable position. Being masters of the town of Philippi, which stood on a rocky promontory in the midst of the plain, they had established themselves in front of

[1] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 183, 191.

[2] Terra-cotta from Cyrene in the *Cabinet de France* (*Gazette archéol.* 1876, pl. 8).

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 105.

[4] ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ; tripod and bunch of grapes. Reverse of a gold coin of Philippi.

it on both sides of the Egnatian road: Brutus on the slopes of the Panaghirdagh, Cassius on two hills near the sea, in order to maintain communication with the fleet, which was stationed behind him at Neapolis, and with his stores established in the island of Thasos. An intrenchment ran from one camp to the other on the westward side, the direction from which the triumviral army approached, and a river, the Gangas, covered the front of the line.

PLUTO AND PROSERPINE.[1]

But this river was fordable everywhere, and the intrenchment could be easily crossed by an enterprising enemy.

COIN OF NEAPOLIS.[2]

Antony was in front of Cassius, and Octavius, on the left, facing Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in point of numbers. The Republicans were stronger in cavalry, but their legionaries were not so good as those of the triumvirs, who were almost all old soldiers. They had, however, a formidable fleet, which intercepted all supplies for the Caesarians by sea. Accordingly Antony, threatened with famine, was eager for battle, which Cassius, on the contrary, wished to put off. Brutus, anxious to terminate the Civil war, both on his own account and for the satisfaction of his Asiatic auxiliaries, persisted in his advice to fight, and carried the majority with him. In both camps the lustrations usual on the eve of a

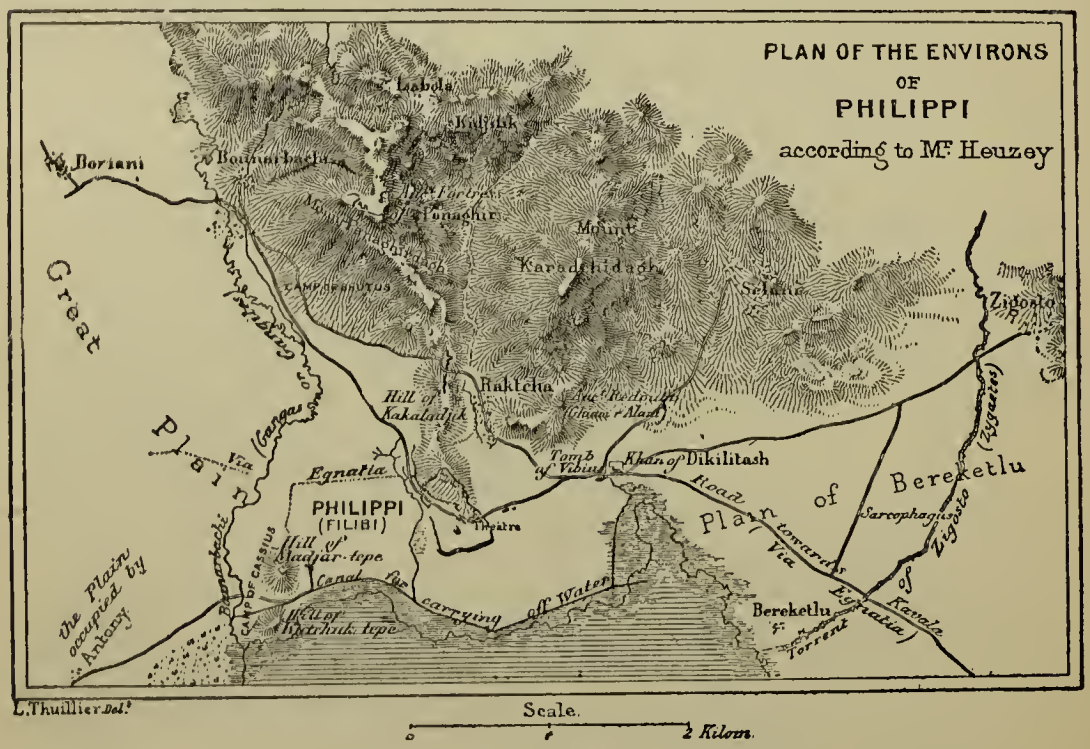
[1] Mural painting discovered at Ostia and published in the *Monum. inéd. de l'Institut archéol.* vol. viii. pl. xxviii. No. 2.

[2] Mask or head of the Gorgon; silver coin of Neapolis.

battle were made,[1] to conciliate the favor of the gods; but Antony secured it by choosing his point of attack well. His plan was to cut off the enemy from his fleet; therefore it was on the south that the action began. Octavius was so ill that he was brought upon the field in a litter, and thus took his place between the lines of his legionaries. On this decisive day the soldiers needed to see their chief, dead or alive, in the midst of them. Messala, one of

COIN FOUND AT NEAPOLIS (KAVALA).[2]

COIN FOUND AT KAVALA.



PLAN OF THE ENVIRONS OF PHILIPPI.[3]

the lieutenants of Brutus, attacking the Caesarians impetuously, broke through their left wing and penetrated into their camp; and the litter of Octavius, from which the young Caesar had just escaped, was riddled with arrows. The report spread that he had been killed, and Brutus believed that the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony had pierced through the enemy's ranks and taken his camp. The dust which covered the plain and the extent of the line of battle prevented the incidents of the action being

[1] Dion, xlvii. 38. [2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 3. [3] *Id., op. cit.* plan A.

observed. Cassius, who had taken refuge with some of his men on a neighboring height, saw a body of cavalry coming towards him; to avoid falling alive into the hands of his foes, he ordered a freedman to kill him. It was, however, Brutus, who, having been victorious, was hastening to his aid. The flatterers of the new royalty afterwards said that at the critical moment terror had seized the soul of the Epicurean sceptic; that he had thought he saw Cæsar clad in the purple mantle, and with threatening countenance, urging his horse upon him "Yet have I slain thee!" he exclaimed, turning away his eyes; and driven by the vengeance of the god, he himself offered his throat to the sword.[1] Brutus, on seeing his dead body, shed tears and called him the last of the Romans. He himself, by his fierce virtue, better merited that title.

Quintilius Varus, whom Cæsar had twice found in the hostile ranks and twice dismissed unharmed, like Cassius, caused himself to be slain by one of his freedmen. Labeo, another of the murderers, having with his own hands dug a grave in his tent, then laid bare his throat to his slave. At the sight of Cassius dead, his friend Titinius slew himself. It was an epidemic of suicide, explained by the certainty of the fate reserved by the triumvirs for their foes.

On the day of this first battle of Philippi, Domitius Calvinus, who was bringing the triumvirs a considerable reinforcement of troops from Italy, had been defeated by the fleet of Brutus. Thus the sea was still closed to them; famine threatened, and the autumn rains rendered their position in these low and marshy lands scarcely tenable. Before them was a still formidable army; but behind them was famine, far more to be dreaded. It was therefore necessary to fight, and Antony eagerly sought an opportunity; but for twenty days the Republicans refused. Meanwhile, in spite of a second gratuity of a thousand drachmæ to his soldiers,[2] and the promise to give up to them the plunder of Sparta and Thessalonica, Brutus saw that discouragement was beginning among his troops.

[1] Val. Max., I. viii. 8.

[2] The triumvirs on their side, on the day following the battle, gave five hundred drachmæ to each soldier, twenty-five hundred to the centurions, five thousand to the tribunes. We quote the figures in order to show plainly why they fought.

The Thracians of Rhascuporis left his camp; the Galatians of Dejotarus went over to that of the triumvirs, who threw into his lines messages full of promises for deserters. Brutus feared lest those of his soldiers who had served under Caesar should go and join the adopted son of their former general. To stop this movement he gave battle. This time Octavius drove back the enemy opposed to him into their very camp; while Antony, also victorious on his side, turned the left wing and cut the legions of Brutus to pieces.[1] Their leader would have been taken by some Thracian horsemen but for the devotion of Lucilius, one of his friends, who cried: "I am Brutus!" and bade them take him to Antony, who admired his devotion, and, sparing his life, made him a trusted friend.

Meanwhile Brutus had reached a height, and halted there to accomplish what he called his deliverance. Strato, his teacher in rhetoric, held out a sword to him, averting his eyes; he fell upon the point with such force that he was pierced through, and immediately expired. Popular imagination has surrounded the last moments of the Republican chief with dramatic circumstances. The phantom he had seen at Abydos, it was said, again appeared to him, according to promise on the night before the battle, and passed before him sad and speechless. According to others, an expression of anger and bitter deception escaped Brutus at the final moment: "Virtue, thou art but a name!" Cato, whose life had been simple and upright, had died with more calmness, reading a treatise on the immortality of the soul. Brutus died despairing of liberty, philosophy, and virtue, — a just chastisement for the dreamer who had thwarted his age without perceiving it, for the man of meditation who, thinking to stop with a dagger-thrust a revolution which had been gathering way for more than a century, had only succeeded in letting loose fearful calamities upon his country. The Republicans esteemed him their second martyr; but it was an honor that he did not deserve.

Some of the friends of Brutus had slain themselves by his side; others, as the sons of Cato and Lucullus, had fallen in the fray. The former of these had fought bravely, crying his name aloud to the Caesarians in order to draw more foes within reach

[1] Such is Appian's account (*Bell. civ.* iv. 128). Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*, represents Octavius as being again beaten in this second engagement.

of his sword, and had sold his life dearly. Hortensius, the son of the great orator, was a prisoner; by the order of Brutus he had put to death, as a reprisal for the proscriptions, C. Antonius, who had fallen into his hands; Antony now caused him to be slain on his brother's tomb. The triumvir displayed some mildness, however; he wished to have Brutus honorably buried. But Octavius had the corpse beheaded and the head sent to Rome to be laid at the foot of Caesar's image.[1] He was pitiless towards his captives, and looked on coldly at their execution. A father and son each besought that the other's life might be spared; he made them draw lots. Another asked that he might at least be buried. "That," said he, "concerns the vultures." Yet he welcomed Valerius Messala, in spite of his friendship for Brutus, and often allowed him to praise the virtue of the Republican leader. More than fourteen thousand men had surrendered; the others were slain or in flight. Some of the latter reached Sicily, and the whole of the fleet, assembled under the command of Domitius Ahenobarbus, joined itself to that of Sextus (autumn of 42).[2]

COIN OF DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.[3]

If vengeance be a pleasure of the gods, Caesar must have been satisfied; from the heights of Olympus, to which his adoring country had raised him, he had seen all the heroes of the ides of March fall, within three years, in battles or proscriptions, or struck by their own hands with the swords which they had stained with his blood.

[1] According to Dion (xlvii. 49), this head did not reach Rome; it fell into the sea in a tempest. Porcia, the wife of Brutus, learning of her husband's death, attempted to kill herself; being closely watched by her family, she could only accomplish her purpose by swallowing red-hot coals (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 136). But Plutarch (*Brut.* 53) had read a letter from Brutus in which he reproached his relations with having so neglected his wife that she had taken her own life in order to be freed from a painful malady. Another heroic legend to be suppressed.

[2] Suet., *Octav.* 13; Dion, xlvii. 49; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 131. According to M. Heuzey, who, in his *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, discovered the battlefield of Philippi, Antony forced the intrenchment between the two hills of Madjiar-tepe and Kutchuk-tepe whilst Cassius was occupied in fortifying his two extended lines, then seized upon his camp, and drove his army back in disorder in the direction of Philippi. After the death of Cassius, Brutus encamped at Madjiar-tepe in order to maintain his communications with the sea. But Antony took Kutchuk-tepe by surprise, and posted four legions there. M. Heuzey thinks that after the second battle of Philippi, Brutus retreated to the slopes of the Karadchidagh, and that he slew himself in one of the valleys occupied by the hamlets of Isabola and Kidjilik.

[3] Head of Domitius Ahenobarbus, cousin of Brutus; from a coin.

III. — New Division of the World; Antony and Cleopatra; War of Perusia (41–40).

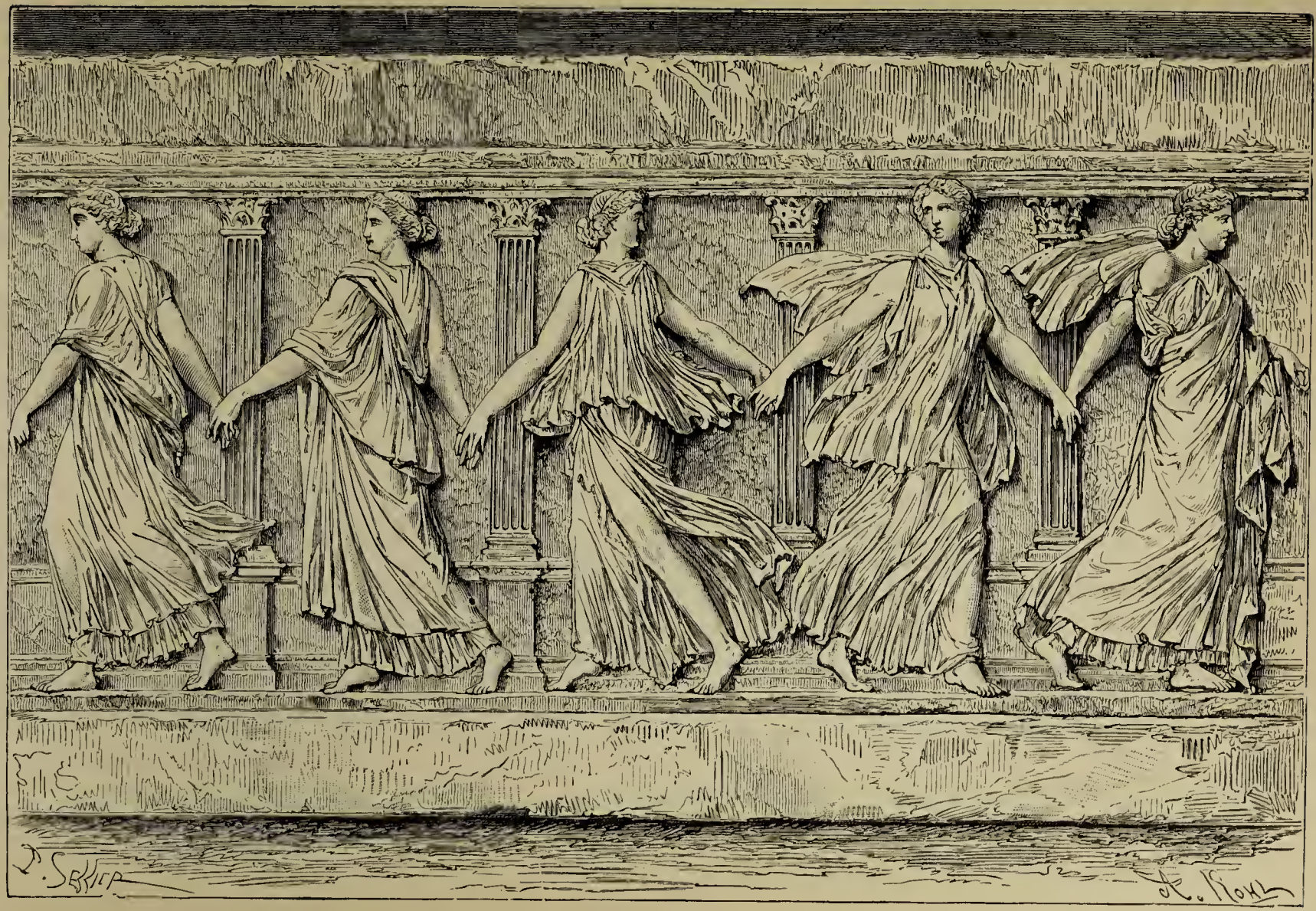
The two victors now again divided the world. Octavius took Spain and Numidia; Antony, Gallia Comata and Africa. Gallia Cisalpina, as being too near Rome, was to cease to be a province.[1] As for Lepidus, he was at first excluded from a share, because it was believed that he had a secret understanding with Sextus Pompeius; but later he received Africa. The leaders' shares being thus settled, it remained to give the soldiers theirs. The latter fully intended to be paid for the victory. They had been promised a portion of land and five thousand drachmae, or about nine thousand dollars of our money, each, and there were a hundred and seventy thousand of them, without counting the cavalry. The triumvirs had no money left; but the wealth of Asia seemed inexhaustible, and Antony took upon himself to find in that country a great part of the two hundred thousand talents required.[3] Octavius, whose health was still weak, assumed the apparently more ungrateful task of dispossessing the inhabitants of Italy in order to distribute their lands among the veterans. While he was making his way towards Rome, with the intention of securing the troops by giving them what Antony had only promised, the latter passed through Greece, took part in its games, its festivals, and the lessons of its rhetoricians; and by thus flattering their tastes won the name of the friend of the Greeks. But when he came into Asia, the warrior lost himself in the delights of its voluptuous cities. In that land of luxury and pleasures the Romans threw away the last remnant of modesty which they had brought from Rome. Antony surrounded himself with flute-players, mountebanks, and

SEXTUS POMPEIUS.[2]

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 3. Octavius thus completed what Caesar had begun; *γνώμη Καίσαρος*.

[2] MAG(nus) PIVS IMP. ITER. Coin of Sextus Pompeius.

[3] Plut., *Anton.* 24. The number is given by Appian (v. 5) as a hundred and seventy thousand soldiers.



DANCING GIRLS (BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

dancing-girls. He entered Ephesus, preceded by women dressed as Bacchantes, and youths in the garb of Fauns and Satyrs. Already he assumed the attributes of Bacchus, and set himself to play the part by continual orgies. In order to supply money for his prodigal expenditure, he oppressed the nations cruelly. After Cassius there remained but little gold in the temples and treasuries of the cities; but he plundered private individuals. His flatterers easily obtained the inheritance of men still living; for a good dish he gave his cook the house of a citizen of Magnesia; to another man, for a song, the office of receiver of taxes of four cities.[1]

DANCING FAUN.[2]

When the deputies of the towns protested against the ten years' tribute which he had imposed upon them, he answered that they ought to think themselves fortunate that their houses and lands were not taken from them, like the Italians, but only their gold, and of that no more than they had given to Caesar's assassins; and even that he allowed them two years to pay the sum. As this tax only produced forty thousand talents, he doubled it, and required that it should be paid in two instalments. "If you force us to pay the tribute twice in

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4; Strabo, xiv. 148.

[2] Bronze statuette found at Pompeii in the *atrium* of the house which has retained his name. It is one of the most perfect works in the Museum of Naples.

one year," a certain Hybreas dared to say to him, "give us two summers and two harvests. No doubt you have also the power to do so."[1]

He, however, remembered those who had suffered for him. To the Rhodians he gave vast domains, which they were not able to govern, and he exempted from taxation Tarsus, Laodiceia of Syria, and Lycia, where Brutus had left so many ruins, and where

A TOWN OF LYCIA.[2]

modern travellers have discovered the curious or magnificent remains of so many cities.

Terrified at the threats of Cassius, Cleopatra had furnished him both troops and money; and Antony now called her to account for this conduct. She came to Tarsus to plead her cause,

[1] The passage in Plutarch (*Anton.* 24) is not very clear. Appian (v. 4) says that he consented to receive the taxes for only nine years, to be paid in two, which is more easily understood.

[2] Tlos, one of the six great cities of Lycia. The engraving is made after Sir Ch. Fellows (*Lycia, Caria*, etc., pl. 6). The other five towns were Xanthos, Patara, Pinora, Olympus, and Myra. (See above, p. 604 and p. 606, the ruins of Xanthos and Patara.)

or rather to try upon him the influence of her charms. Nothing in the range of female strategy was omitted to make the plot successful. She sailed up the Cydnus in a vessel with gilded stern and purple sails and silver oars. The rowers kept time to the sound of flutes and lyres. The Queen, representing Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold. Children, who personated Loves, were grouped around her, and her women, attired as Nereids and Graces, guided the vessel. The perfumes that were burned upon the deck made all the air fragrant. "It is Venus herself," cried the dazzled inhabitants; "she comes to meet Bacchus!" Antony fell under the spell; and when he saw this beautiful and accomplished woman, who spoke six languages, sharing in his orgies and in his soldier-talk, drinking with him and swearing with him, he forgot Rome, Fulvia, and the Parthians, and followed her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41 B.C.). Then began the excesses of "the inimitable life," — endless suppers, hunts, and rough nocturnal adventures through the town.[1]

Whilst he was wasting precious time in these infamous debauches, his wife and brother in Italy were declaring war against Octavius.

On the 1st of January, 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius and Servilius Isauricus had taken possession of the consulship. Fulvia, an ambitious and violent woman, exercised over both of them an influence which left the government in her hands; the indolent Lepidus was completely set aside.[2] The arrival of the young Caesar threatened Fulvia's authority, and he irritated her still more by sending home her daughter, whom he had married in the preceding year merely to please the soldiers.

She began by demanding that the lands which he was to give to the legions of Antony should be distributed to them by their general's brother, in order that Octavius might not have all their gratitude; to this he yielded. Then, as there arose against him a chorus of complaint about this division of land, she strove to profit by these disturbances in Italy in order to tear her husband away from Cleopatra.[3] The veterans claimed the eighteen cities which

[1] Plut., *Anton.* 26. At her instigation Antony caused her sister Arsinoë to be put to death at the altar of Diana of Miletus, and he allowed her to poison Ptolemy, her brother and husband.

[2] Dion, lxviii. 4.

[3] Martial (xi. 21) speaks of some tenderer sentiments which Fulvia entertained for

had been promised to them, and the inhabitants were enraged at the injustice which compelled them to pay for all Italy. In addition to this, the latter demanded an indemnity, and the former, money to cover the expenses of their establishment. Meanwhile the new colonists overstepped their boundaries, appropriated the neighboring fields, and took all that they found to their liking. The dispossessed owners flocked into the city with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes, and stirring up the people, who, being deprived of work by the disturbances, and of provisions by the cruisers of Sextus, insulted the soldiers, plundered the houses of the wealthy, and would have no more magistrates, not even their own tribunes, that they might pillage more at their ease. Urged on by Fulvia, Lucius Antonius then interfered, and promised his protection to the expropriated Italians, at the same time assuring the soldiers that if they had no land, or had not enough, his brother would be able to make them full amends with the tributes which he was levying for them in Asia.[1]

LUCIUS ANTONIUS.

The Italians grew bolder in their opposition when they saw it was encouraged by a consul, and resolved to take up arms in defence of their fields; at many points bloody conflicts ensued. The veterans on their side heaped recriminations upon Octavius for not keeping his promises, and reached such a point of insubordination that a revolt seemed imminent. One day, at the theatre, a soldier took his seat upon one of the benches of the knights; the crowd murmured, and to appease the tumult Octavius sent him out. But after the show the soldiers crowded round the general with threats, accusing him of having put the man to death to please the crowd; and the soldier was obliged to come and show himself to his comrades. They then exclaimed that he had been thrown into prison; and as he affirmed that nothing of the kind had taken place, they turned against him, calling him liar and traitor. They wished to make the military dress inviolable. On another occasion, Octavius having kept them waiting for him at

Octavius, to which he made no response. Martial is very malicious of tongue, but Fulvia gave occasion for spiteful remarks. She had now her third husband, having been successively the wife of the two famous tribunes Clodius and Curio; and during her widowhood her grief had not been inconsolable.

[1] Dion, xl. 6, 7; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 12, *sq.*

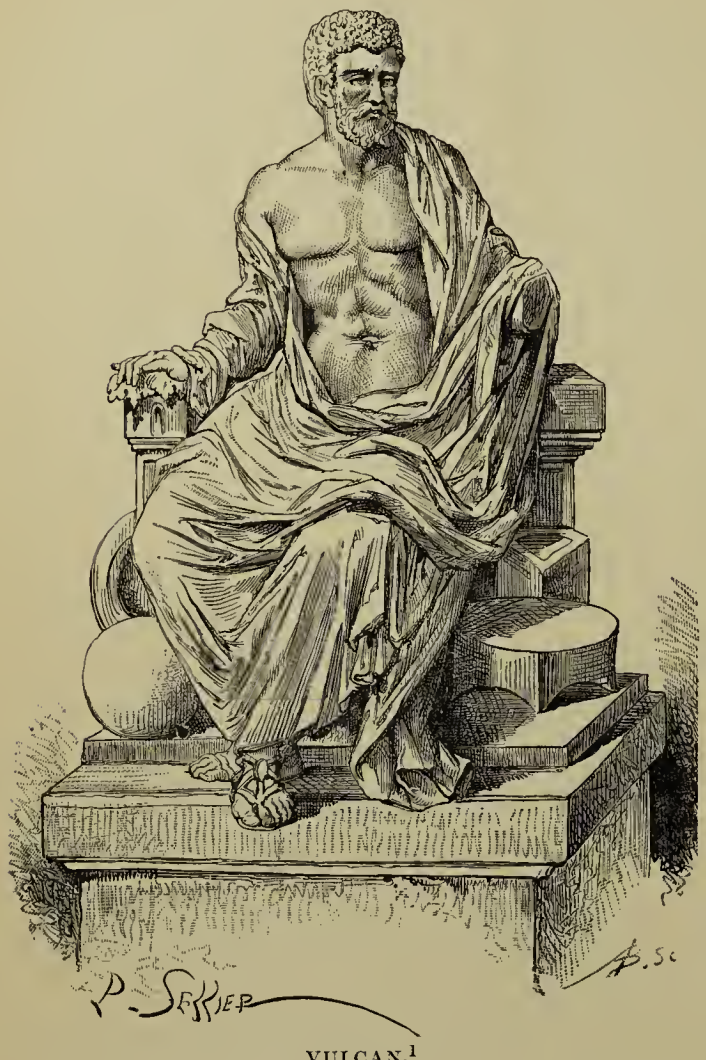
VENUS SURROUNDED BY NEREIDS AND CUPIDS (BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

a review, they became angry, and a tribune who undertook his defence was attacked; the tribune succeeded in getting away, and plunged into the Tiber to escape his pursuers; but he was dragged out and killed, and his body was placed on the road by which Octavius would arrive. The latter did no more than mildly reprove them for this violence.

His situation was becoming critical. All men laid to his charge the ills they suffered, and even some of his veterans, won by the promises of Fulvia and Lucius, abandoned him. But the treasures which Fulvia promised them, her husband was at that very time dissipating in mad prodigalities. Octavius sold the rest of the property of the proscribed, borrowed from the temples, and turning everything into money, brought back by largesses some of those who had left him. A master-stroke completed the re-establishment of his popularity. He assembled the veterans in the Capitol, caused the agreements lately made with Antony to be read to them, and declared his firm resolution to carry them out. "But Lucius," he added, "is working to overthrow the triumvirate, and will make everything again uncertain by a war, the authority of the leaders as well as the rewards due to the soldiers. As for me, ever ready to maintain concord, I willingly take the Senate and the veterans as judges of my conduct." The veterans accepted this strange arbitration; they constituted themselves into a tribunal at Gabii, and invited the two opponents to appear before them. The young Caesar hastened to obey; Lucius Antonius, perhaps apprehending an ambush on the road, did not come, and Fulvia, who at Praeneste held reviews with a sword at her side, scoffed loudly at the *booted* Senate. This scene, however, restored to Octavius the support of almost all the veterans. The Italians naturally threw themselves upon the opposite side, which appeared the most numerous. Lucius collected seventeen legions of recruits. Octavius had only ten; but they were veterans, with Agrippa for general. Things seemed to go ill with him at first. Lucius seized upon Rome, which Lepidus should have defended, and assembling the people, announced to them that his brother renounced his triumviral authority; that he would canvass the consulship in the usual manner as soon as he had punished Lepidus and Octavius; and that thus the Republic and liberty would be re-established. It was the counterpart of the

comedy played at Gabii, — a play got up to win the people, as the other had been to win the army. Lucius was naturally hailed as imperator, — a title of which the soldiers were lavish, since in return the leader owed them a *donativum*.

But Agrippa easily drove him out of Rome, and pressed him so hard that he compelled him to take refuge in the fortress of Perusia, where he shut him in with immense works of circumvallation. Antony's friends, Asinius Pollio, Calenus, and Ventidius, took very little part in this war, being uncertain whether the triumvir approved of it. Fulvia, who was bringing help to her brother-in-law, could not force the besiegers' lines; and the garrison was decimated by a famine which became proverbial under the name of *fames Perusina*. Sling-missiles thrown during this siege and recovered in our own days have preserved the memory of it: "You are dying of hunger, and you hide it from me (*esuries et me celas*)," said the one; to which a traitor replied, "We are without bread (*sine masa*)."[2]



VULCAN.[1]

[1] Marble statue, which was at first erected in the town of Tarentum, according to the inscription cut on its base (Montfaucon, *Suppl. I.*, vol. i. pl. 30). Vulcan was an old Italian deity, whom the Romans identified with the Hephaestos of the Greeks.

[2] In this war of Perusia, Asculum must have sided with Antony, for there has been found at the foot of its walls a sling-missile with the name of Ventidius, a famous Asculan, one of Antony's partisans. Another fact unknown to historians is perhaps revealed by these singular relics; one of them bears these words: *Q. Lab. Part. Mar. Vlt.*, that is, Q. Labienus Parthicus to

Lucius, compelled to yield to the remonstrances of the soldiers, surrendered. In order to avoid giving Antony any pretext for war, Octavius contented himself with sending Lucius to Spain, whither at the same time he sent a man of energy, D. Calvinus, who was able to keep that province under his sway. He also spared the veterans found in Perusia, and enrolled them in his legions; but the magistrates of the city and, it is said, three hundred knights or senators were slain at the foot of an altar raised to Caesar on the ides of March in the year 40. To every prayer that was addressed him to spare the life of any one of them, Octavius replied with the words of Marius: "He must die." The town had been given up to pillage; a citizen set it on fire and destroyed it, and threw himself into the flames.[1] In order to punish Juno, the presiding goddess of the city, who had so ill defended them, and whose image Octavius carried away to Rome, as though the goddess had been his accomplice, the inhabitants when they rebuilt their town placed it under the protection of Vulcan; he had at least saved his temple from the flames.

The destruction of that ancient city was the last of the triumvir's acts of cruelty.[2] Further proscriptions were dreaded, however. Horace, who was as yet unattached, utters a cry of despair, and counsels the wise to flee to the Fortunate Isles to escape this iron age.[3] All Antony's friends got away, but without going so far; Pollio took refuge with a few troops on board of the vessels of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who, while acting in concert with Sextus, had reserved to himself the free command of the fleet which had belonged to Brutus;[4] Antony's mother reached Sicily, where Sextus received her with honors; Tiberius Claudius

Mars the Avenger. This Labienus, who was the master of Asia Minor, must, therefore, have sent aid to the foe of Caesar's son (Desjardins, *Les Balles de fronde;* see vol. ii. p. 598).

[1] Suet., *Octav.* 15: *moriendum esse;* and Dion, xviii. 14, —a doubtful fact, resting merely on reports; *scribunt quidam*, in Suetonius; λόγος ἔχει, in Dion. Appian (v. 48) mentions only a small number of executions. Nursia escaped with a fine, but so heavy a one that the inhabitants preferred to abandon their town and territory (Dion, xlviii. 13. Cf. Vell. Patere., ii. 74; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 49).

[2] Sence., *De Clementia*, i. 11.

[3] Ode xvi. of the book of the *Epodes*, published after his death.

[4] This Domitius was the son of the Dom. Ahenobarbus slain at Pharsalia. Though it was not known for certain whether he had taken any part in the murder of the dictator, he had been proscribed by Pedius as a tyrannicide. He was the grandfather of Nero (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 55; Suet., *Nero*, 3).

Nero, who had commanded an army corps in Campania, also sought refuge in the island; Livia Drusilla, his wife, and his son Tiberius, then two years old, were at that time fleeing from the man whom one of them was to marry and the other to succeed. Fulvia and her children, accompanied by Plancus, were able to reach Greece. Octavius was thus left master of Italy and of the whole West, for the son of Calenus, who after his father's death had taken command of the legions in Gaul, yielded up that province to him, and Spain made its submission. The incapable Lepidus claimed his share; he was sent into Africa with six legions of soldiers, who were either malecontents or too much attached to Antony. This struggle of one year's duration was called the war of Perusia (41–40).

These sounds of war drown the memory of the calamities suffered throughout the peninsula, which we must, however, call to mind to complete the picture of those fearful times. Nothing in modern history can furnish an idea of the destitution and wretchedness caused by this second expropriation of the rural population of Italy.[1] The first had taken place at the expense of the old Italiot races whom Sylla had despoiled in order to furnish homes for his one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers. The second, by a just retribution, dispossessed those who had profited by the first. The sons of the dictator's veterans gave place to the legionaries of the triumvirs. Vergil was thus driven from his little patrimony near Mantua; Horace, who after his flight from Philippi had repaired to Rome, thus lost the estates left him by his worthy father, the freedman of Venusia. Tibullus and Propertius suffered the same fate. Protected by Pollio and Gallus, who were charged with the division of lands in Cisalpine Gaul, and who were acquainted with his early verses, Vergil twice obtained the restitution of his twice-invaded fields. But all dispossessed landowners had not beautiful verses wherewith to redeem their property; the more fortunate remained as tenants upon the lands which they had held as proprietors. Others begged and died by the wayside; or, driven to go and people distant colonies, left behind them in stranger hands the paternal home and the tomb of their forefathers: —

[1] The expression is from Appian (*Ibid.* v. 5).

"Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva . . .
Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has segetes ?" [1]

The Ofellus of Horace is the portrait of many men of that time; but all were not able to say like him: "Meet adverse fortune with a manly heart!"

"Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus!" [2]

For forty years past the right of property had ceased to exist in the peninsula, — a consideration which would alone suffice to prove the necessity of the Empire, since the end of the Republic was for Italy the end of evils of which our most terrible wars can give no idea.

IV. — Treaties of Brundusium (40) and of Misenum (39); Defeat of Sextus Pompeius and Deposition of Lepidus (36).

Neither Fulvia's appeals nor the report of this war had been able to divert Antony from his pleasures; or rather he had perceived that it was only a question of an intrigue by his wife. A bold attack of the Parthians at length roused him. The harshness and exactions of the governor whom he had left in Syria had led to a revolt. The Parthians, summoned by the inhabitants, and led by a son of Labienus, who had taken refuge at the court of Ctesiphon, had invaded that province and broken into Asia Minor.[3] In the spring of the year 40 Antony repaired to Tyre, the only city of Phoenicia which they had not yet entered; letters from Fulvia which reached him there apprised him of the end of the war of Perusia and the flight of all his friends. It became necessary to offset the effect produced by this defeat by reappearing with a considerable force upon the shores of Italy. Committing, therefore, to the able Ventidius the charge

Q. LABIENUS PARTHICUS (SILVER COIN).

[1] Vergil, *Bucol.* i. 3 and 71-72. A little poem of 183 lines, the *Dirae*, sometimes attributed to Vergil, also contains imprecations against all who have despoiled the author of his domain.

[2] *Satirae*, II. ii. 112–136.

[3] Labienus there conquered Decidius Saxa, and after that victory took the title of imperator and the surname of Parthicus.

of opposing the Parthians, he set sail with two hundred vessels, furnished by Cyprus and Rhodes, for Athens, where he found Fulvia. The interview between the pair was an interchange of bitter and well-justified recriminations, — on the one side about the stay in Alexandria, on the other about the foolish Perusian war. Meanwhile events were crowding forward in the West, where Octavius had taken possession of Gaul. It was necessary to put a speedy stop to this growing fortune; leaving Fulvia in Sicyon, ill with vexation and shame, Antony came to an arrangement with the Pompeian Domitius, who opened a passage for him across the Ionian Sea, and began hostilities by the siege of Brundusium. At the same time he invited Sextus Pompeius to attack Southern Italy; Rhegium had been already blockaded, the Pompeian troops were arriving before Consentia, and Sardinia had gone over to the enemy.

Octavius appeared to be in serious danger; but he derived great strength from this union against him of men who but yesterday were hostile to each other. While the enemy's camp contained a son of Pompey, one of the triumvirs, and one of Caesar's murderers, Octavius stood the sole representative of the new principle round which so many interests had already gathered; and such is the advantage of clearly defined positions, even in political matters, that this threatening coalition was in reality little to be dreaded. The memory of the battles at Philippi was still too fresh in the minds of the veterans of the triumviral army for them to be willing to fight against one another. They compelled their leaders to treat, and Cocceius Nerva, a friend of both the triumvirs, brought about an arrangement; the conditions were drawn up by Pollio and Maecenas, and the death of Fulvia hastened its conclusion. Antony caused one of his wife's advisers, who had been the principal instigator of the war of Perusia, to be put to death; and as a proof of his desire to establish a real peace, he gave up to his colleague the letters of Salvidienus, a lieutenant of Octavius in Gallia Narbonensis, who offered to bring him his troops. Summoned to Rome upon some pretext, the traitor was there put to death. A new partition of the Roman world gave

COIN OF RHEGIUM.[1]

[1] ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ; lyre. Reverse of a coin of Rhegium.

Antony the East as far as the Adriatic, with the obligation to fight the Parthians; and Octavius the West and the war against Sextus. Scodra (Scutari), on the Illyrian coast, marked the common boundary. They left Africa to Lepidus, and agreed that when they did not wish to hold the consulship themselves they would

VIEW OF SICYON.

alternately bestow it upon their friends. Octavia, the sister of the young Caesar, already left a widow by the death of Marcellus, married the other triumvir.[1] She had just given birth to him who is perhaps the "predestined child" of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, that Marcellus, "the glorious scion of Jupiter," whom the poet was to immortalize in the sixth book of the Aeneid (40).[2]

COIN OF SALVIDIENUS.

OCTAVIA (COIN).

[1] Plut., *Anton.* 31. He calls Octavia *χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν γυναικός.*

[2] Propertius (iii. 18) makes Marcellus die at the age of twenty, which would put his birth in 43, — more than two years before the peace of Brundusium and the writing of Vergil's Eclogue; but Servius (*Ad Aen.* vi. 862) makes him two years younger. "He fell ill," says

The friends of peace hoped that this young wife, who was respected by all and tenderly loved by her brother, would be able by her virtues to retain Antony and to preserve harmony between the two masters of the Roman world (40).[1]

The triumvirs returned to Rome to celebrate this union. The festivities were sad, for the people wanted bread, since Sextus, who had not been included in the treaty of Brundusium, continued to intercept trading vessels. None arrived, and the merchants no longer dared despatch their vessels to the ports of Smyrna, Alexandria, Carthage, and Marseilles. Following the soldiers' example, the multitude with loud cries demanded peace. An edict taxing landowners fifty sesterces a head for their slaves and confiscating to the treasury a portion of all inheritances caused further irritation. Abuse was heaped on the triumvirs; but the people could no longer make even a riot: the veterans fell upon the multitude and put them to flight, leaving numbers of dead behind them.[3] Antony was the first to weary of these reproaches, and urged his colleague to treat with Sextus. A few months

OCTAVIA.[2]

Servius, "in his sixteenth year, and died in his eighteenth." I am more disposed to accept the age given by the learned commentator than that given by the poet. It must be acknowledged, however, that there remain great difficulties on the subject of the "predestined child."

[1] In the same year the tribune Falcidius carried the law which bears his name and which remained famous under the Empire; it forbade a man to dispose of more than three quarters of his property in legacies, and secured the remaining quarter, the Falcidian Fourth, to the heirs.

[2] Cameo in the possession of M. le Baron Roger, published in the *Gazette archéol.* 1875, pl. 31.

[3] App., *Bell civ.* v. 68; Dion, xlviii. 19.

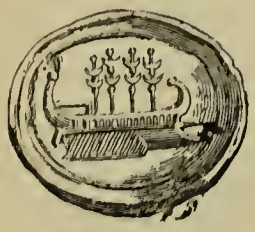
previously Octavius had married the sister of Scribonius Libo, Sextus' father-in-law, in the hope that this alliance would open the way to an agreement. Libo did, in fact, intervene between his son-in-law and the triumvirs. Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, herself pleaded with her son that blood enough had been shed in this unhappy quarrel; and Sextus yielded.[1] The three met on Cape Misenum, upon a dike constructed from the shore to the admiral's galley and cut through in the middle, so that the negotiators, on either side of a channel through which the sea flowed, could discuss questions without any fear of surprise. Sextus had his fleet behind him, the triumvirs their legions. The latter consented to allow him to return to Rome; but he demanded to be received into the triumvirate in the place of Lepidus, — upon which the conference was broken up. Urged on by his freedman, Menas, he was about to return to Sicily and recommence hostilities, when Libo and Mucia induced him to consent to a second interview, at which the following conditions were agreed upon, — Sextus was to receive Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Achaea as provinces, with an indemnity of fifteen million five hundred thousand drachmae.[2] He was to have the right of canvassing the consulship, though absent, and of discharging the functions of that office through one of his friends. The citizens who had taken refuge with him were allowed to return to Rome and resume their estates; those who had been put upon the lists of proscription were only to recover a quarter of their property; and the murderers of Caesar were excluded from the amnesty. The gratuities reserved for the triumvirs' soldiers were to be granted to his also; and slaves who had taken refuge with him were to receive their freedom. On his side he was to clear the sea of pirates, withdraw his garrisons from the points occupied by them upon the coasts of Italy, and send the wheat which Sicily and Sardinia used to supply to Rome.[3] The treaty was to be confided to the guardianship of the Vestals.

[1] One of his principal officers, Murcus, urged him to treat. His freedman, Menas, who commanded for him in Sardinia, tried hard to turn him from it by representing to him that he must let famine do its work. He did not succeed in convincing him, but he made him suspicious of Murcus, whom Sextus put to death (Vell. Patere., ii. 77; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 70; Dion, xlviii. 19).

[2] Dion, *Ibid.* 36.

[3] Plut., *Anton.* 33; Dion, *Ibid.*; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 72; Vell. Patere., ii. 77.

When the three chiefs were seen to cross the narrow barrier which separated them, and embrace in token of peace and friendship, one shout of joy went up from fleet and army. It seemed as if this was the end of all their ills. Italy would no longer dread famine; the exiles and *proscripti* would return to their country.



VESSEL BEARING STANDARDS.[1]

It was further announced to the troops that a marriage would cement the union: the daughter of Sextus was affianced to the nephew of Octavius. Then the three chiefs entertained one another. The lot fell upon Sextus to receive his new friends first. "Where shall we sup?" asked Antony, gayly. "In my *carinae*," answered Sextus, pointing to his galley, — a cutting allusion to the fact that, at Rome, Antony possessed the house of Pompey the Great, in the quarter of the Carinae.[2] In the middle of the feast Menas is said to have whispered in Sextus' ear: "Shall I cut the cables and make you master of the whole Empire?" He reflected an instant, and then answered: "You should have done it without asking me; Sextus Pompeius cannot betray his sworn faith." The anecdote is doubtful, like many of the stories related by the ancients. Before separating they drew up the list of consuls for the following years (39).

The two treaties of peace of Brundusium and Misenum were only a truce in the eyes of those who had signed them; but for Italy, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, they marked the close of sanguinary conflicts. For three centuries and a half, with the exception of one day, that on which Vitellius died, Rome and the peninsula were torn by no more wars.

After the peace of Misenum, Octavius and Antony went to Rome for a short time to receive the testimonies of popular rejoicing. The one soon set out again to subdue a few Gallic tribes who had revolted; the other went to attack the Parthians. Antony took with him a senatus-consultum ratifying in advance all his acts.[3] The Senate might consider itself fortunate that

[1] From an engraved gem (Bernhard Graser; *op. cit.*).

[2] Plut., *Anton.* 33; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 73. Precautions similar to those employed at interviews between princes in the Middle Ages were taken for these feasts. Antony and Octavius repaired thither with arms concealed about them (*Id.*, *Ibid.*).

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 75.

one of its masters had asked for a decree; this vote proved its existence, which might have been doubted at the time of the negotiations at Misenum, where no more attention had been paid to it than to Lepidus. The triumvirs did not forget it, however, for they created new senators daily; they were soldiers, barbarians, and even slaves; one of the latter obtained the praetorship.[1] It is true, indeed, that the number of praetors had been raised to seventy-seven. As for the people, they received written orders on the days of the comitia, and voted accordingly.

The treaty of Misenum was an agreement impossible to be carried out. It was not to be expected that Octavius should leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions, as well as the repose of Italy, at the mercy of Sextus, who on his side dreamed of obtaining the supreme power at Rome for himself. Meanwhile he held a brilliant court at Syracuse; with a trident in his hand, and clad in a sea-blue mantle, he caused himself to be styled son of Neptune. And he had some right to do so, since he had been the first to prove to the Romans, who were reluctant to perceive it, what power the empire of the seas confers. But in the ten years which had elapsed since he left Rome, during which time he had lived as an adventurer, Sextus had acquired the habits of a leader of brigands rather than those of a general. Slaves and freedmen commanded his squadrons. If a free voice was raised among the Roman nobles who had taken refuge with him, he grew angry, as though it had been insolence. The assassination of Murcus[2] had discouraged the most devoted friends of Sextus, and many had seized the pretext of the peace of Misenum to abandon him. Personally brave, he did not know how to make use of victory; and we shall see how he let slip many favorable opportunities.

The earliest breaches of the treaty came from the triumvirs. First, Antony refused to put Sextus in possession of Achaea, upon the pretext that the Peloponnesians owed him large sums which he wished to make them repay; then Octavius repudiated Scribonia in order to marry Livia, then six months advanced in pregnancy, whom he forced Tiberius Nero to give up to him. To these provo-

[1] His election caused such a scandal, however, that the triumvirs, after having given him his freedom, caused him to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian Rock (Dion, xlviii. 34).

[2] See p. 627, note 1.

cations Sextus replied by laying up his vessels for repairs and leaving the pirates free to cruise; upon which the price of provisions at once increased in Italy (38).

COIN OF MURCUS.[1]

Octavius tried to obtain the co-operation of his two colleagues; Lepidus agreed to join him, but spent all the summer in collecting troops and vessels. As for Antony, urged by his wife, he left Athens, where he had passed the winter, and went to Brundusium in search of the young Caesar; and not finding him there, hastened back to Greece, sending a message to the latter to beg him to keep the peace. The whole burden of the war thus fell upon Octavius. Fortunately he had negotiated for the treachery of the freedman Menas, who delivered up to him Corsica, Sardinia, three legions, and a strong squadron. He received Menas with marks of great esteem, raised him to the rank of knight, and gave him the command of his fleet, under the chief control of Calvisius Sabinus.[3]

COIN OF CUMAE.[2]

COIN OF MESSINA.[4]

From the very first Menas proved his devotion and his ability. He successfully encountered a Pompeian fleet in the Gulf of Cumae, and slew its leader, also a freedman of Sextus, who was replaced by another freedman. Octavius tried to cross into Sicily; being attacked in the middle of the Straits, he would have left the victory to his enemies, had not the approach of Menas obliged them to run back into Messina. The fight was scarcely over when a storm destroyed almost the whole of his fleet; but Sextus did not know how to profit by this advantage, and Agrippa arrived.

This great soldier, who, like Caesar, had just pacified Aquitania and crossed the Rhine, took in hand the conduct of the operations.

[1] MVRCVS IMP.: man clad in the toga stretching out his hand to a kneeling woman; in the background, a trophy. Silver coin of the Statian family, to which Murena belonged.

[2] Head of Apollo. On the reverse, KVMAION; a shell and an ear of barley. Coin of Cumae.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 81–84. Appian gives Menas the name of Menodoros, which the freedman had perhaps assumed after his manumission (Dion, xlviii. 46).

[4] MESSANION; hare running right; beneath, a dolphin. (See in vol. i. p. 553, another specimen of the coins of Messina.)

Instead of striking his blows hastily, he wished to make them sure, by leaving nothing to chance. Octavius had a good harbor in the Mare Superum, but none in the Tyrrhenian Sea, surrounding Sicily. Agrippa created the Julian Harbor by connecting Lake Lucrinus with Lake Avernus, and both with the sea;[1] then he built a fleet, and by continual exercises he trained sailors and legionaries. In the spring of the following year (36) Octavia again brought back her husband to Tarentum; and as she did not find her brother there, she went to meet him and persuaded him to go thither with Maecenas and Agrippa. The interview took place upon the banks of the Bradanus, between Tarentum and Metapontum.[2] For several days the two triumvirs were seen walking about without guards, and lavishing upon each other the marks of a confidence which deceived neither themselves nor any one else. They deprived Sextus of the priesthood and the consulship, and prolonged their own triumviral authority for five years. Antyllus, a son of Antony and Fulvia, was affianced to the notorious Julia, the daughter of Octavius and Scribonia; and mutual presents seemed to seal this so oft-renewed friendship. Antony gave his colleague

PLAN
OF THE
JULIAN HARBOUR.[3]

Note..... Supposed limit of the Julian Harbour

[1] Dion, xlviii. 50; Strabo, v. 244. Agrippa entered upon his office as consul on the 1st of January, 37. He cut down the gloomy forest which surrounded Lake Avernus; but the harbor was used for barely half a century.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 93–94.

[3] The Monte Nuovo (see plan) has only been in existence since 1538. (See vol. i. p. 27.)

one hundred and twenty vessels in exchange for twenty thousand legionaries, and set out for Syria.[1] They were never to meet again until the battle of Actium.

Immediately after Antony's departure the war was resumed with great vigor. A powerful fleet sailed out of the new harbor made by Agrippa, and, according to custom, imposing religious ceremonies called down the divine protection upon it. During the sacrifice the army uttered pious acclamations.[4]

COIN OF TARENTUM.[2]

COIN OF METAPONTUM.[3]

Agrippa advised that Sicily should be attacked at three points, — by Lepidus, who was at length coming from Africa, at Lilybaeum; by Statilius Taurus,[5] the commander of the galleys ceded by Antony, at the promontory of Pachynum; and by Octavius on the north coast.[6] The three fleets started at the same time; but that of Octavius was overtaken, in the narrow channel between Caprea and

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 95.

[2] ΤΑΡΑΣ; head of a woman with diadem; round it, three dolphins.

[3] ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ; bearded head, with helmet ornamented with the monster Scylla. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΙ and two heads of grain.

[4] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 97.

[5] In 1875 there was discovered, in the grounds lying on the Esquiline between the ruins known as those of the temple of Minerva Medica and the *porta Maggiore*, a vast subterranean gallery, the walls of which are pierced with a great number of *loculi*, wherein were little urns of terra-cotta containing *le ceneri della legione interminabile dei servi e dei liberti della gente Statilia*. This was the tomb of the Statilii Tauri and their *familia*, freedmen, and slaves. Along these walls there also runs a strip, fifteen inches in width, covered with the most beautiful paintings discovered for a long time beneath the soil of Rome. They relate the legend of Aeneas, more than ever national to Rome since Caesar's time, but differing in certain particulars from that which Vergil adopted in the Aeneid. We give some of the best-preserved portions, which M. Fiorelli, the learned director of researches in the kingdom of Italy, has been kind enough to have copied for us from the originals. According to the commentary by M. Brizzio (*Pitture e sepolcri scoperti sull' Esquilino*), our first plate represents the death of Lausus, the son of Mezentius, who had come to attack Lavinium before the ramparts were completed. The Latins make a sortie, kill the son of the King of the Rutuli, and compel Mezentius to flee. The second plate takes us back to the first stories in the legend. Amata, Queen of Laurentum, informs Turnus that he must give up Lavinia, his promised bride, who has just been promised to Aeneas for a wife, and who with downcast head betrays the grief which this rupture causes her. On the right the Trojans are building Lavinium. The town, personified by a woman with a crown of towers upon her head, watches the workmen and incites them to work. The third plate shows Latinus, seated on his throne, promising Aeneas his daughter Lavinia, who approaches, followed by her maidens.

[6] Menas was no longer in the service of Octavius; after the interview of Tarentum he had returned to Sextus. A third piece of treachery brought him back shortly afterwards to Octavius, who received him, but gave him no command.

the Isle of the Sirens, by a violent storm which swept over the Ionian Sea and prevented Taurus leaving the harbor of Tarentum. Lepidus alone succeeded in landing, and laid siege to Lilybaeum. Octavius sent Maecenas to Rome to prevent the disturbances which the report of this disaster might cause, and visited all the harbors where his vessels had taken refuge, in order promptly to repair the damages. Though he did not possess his uncle's military genius, he had his perseverance. "I shall be able to

JULIA, DAUGHTER OF OCTAVIUS.

ISLE OF THE SIRENS.[1]

conquer, in spite of Neptune," he said; and to punish the god he forbade his statue to be carried at the games in the circus. Sextus, on the contrary, confiding in the protection of the divinity whose colors and trident he bore, let the tempest work for him. He forgot that in certain cases the best way to defend one's self is to attack;

[1] From the *Aeneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

and instead of pursuing the remnants of Octavius' fleet, or attempting descents upon Italy which the general discontent would have favored, he concentrated his fleet at Messina, as though the once-dreaded ocean monsters, Charybdis and Scylla, would defend the entrance of the Straits for him.

COIN OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS.[1]

In a month Octavius had his fleet in order again. Sextus had fortified Lipara, the most important of the Aeolian islands and an excellent naval station, in order to protect the approaches to the Straits of Messina and to cover the northern shores of Sicily. Agrippa seized it; and at the same time Octavius, from the other side of the Straits, threw three legions into Sicily near Tauromenium. A defeat sustained by the fleet of Lepidus was compensated by a naval victory won by Agrippa in sight of Mylae; but another defeat experienced by Octavius on the east coast drove him back into Italy. He had passed through the greatest dangers, having wandered about a whole night in a boat, without guards or attendants. This general, who was always ill or unfortunate on days of battle, nevertheless retained the confidence of his soldiers; Caesar's shadow protected him.

LEPIDUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.[2]

AGRIPPA WITH THE ROSTRAL CROWN.[3]

The legions which he had left before Tauromenium under the command of Cornificius were exposed to the greatest dangers;

[1] MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER.; the lighthouse of Messina, surmounted by a statue of Neptune; in the foreground, a vessel with a Roman eagle and an *acrostolium*. On the reverse, PRAEF. ORE MARIT. ET CLAS. S. C., surrounding the monster Scylla. Silver coin of Sextus Pompeius. See, vol. i. p. 109, another representation of the monster, with the girdle of "barking dogs." The promontory of Scylla, at the entrance of the Straits of Messina, does not deserve the evil reputation given it by the ancients. The waves break and "bark" there as they do on every headland that stretches far into the sea. Charybdis, to the south of Cape di Faro, and some distance from the Sicilian coast, was far more dangerous to the undecked boats of the Greeks. It is a whirlpool formed by the meeting of contrary currents. Captain Smith saw seventy-four-gun ships drawn out of their course by it. [Before the many earthquakes which occurred there in the Middle Ages, both were probably more dangerous. —*Ed.*]

[2] LEPIDVS PONT. MX. III. V. R. P. C. From a silver coin (Cohen, *Méd. cons. Aemil.* pl. ii. No. 18).

[3] M. AGRIPPA COS. TER. COSSVS LENTVLVS; head of Agrippa, with the rostral and mural crown.

THE MODERN SCYLLA (ENGRAVING FROM THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE)

Sextus cut off their supplies by sea, and on the land his cavalry surrounded the camp. Cornificius decided to retreat towards the northern coast, where Agrippa, after his victory, had occupied several points; he carried out this difficult movement with a firmness which gained him great honor, and afterwards obtained for him the privilege of being borne in a curule chair every time he supped out.[1]

COIN OF LILYBAEUM.[2]

At the moment when he effected a junction with the three legions sent to meet him, Agrippa also obtained possession of Tyndaris, — an excellent position, whence he could on one side furnish aid to Lepidus, who had at length subdued Lilybaeum, and on the other threaten Messina. The end was approaching. Once more Octavius bore down upon Sicily with the remainder of his troops, this time gathered into a mass of twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand archers and slingers, who assembled between Mylae and Tyndaris, where Lepidus had arrived. Sextus held in force the northeast corner of Sicily, from Mylae to Tauromenium, with Messina as his headquarters, and he had fortified all the defiles which gave access into this immense intrenched camp. A movement of Agrippa having led him to believe that the Caesarian fleet was making for Cape Pelorus, he abandoned his posts on the west; which Octavius immediately seized, and the triumvirs were able to begin their movement upon Messina. Threatened in his lair by two formidable armies, Sextus refused battle on land. But it was needful for him speedily to strike some decisive blow, for he was short of money and provisions. He decided to try his fortune on the element which had hitherto befriended him.

Each fleet counted three hundred sail; the engagement took place between Mylae and Naulochus, in sight of the two armies drawn

[1] Dion (xlix. 7) says ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, — an expression which might apply to the curule chair, which was incrusted with ivory.

[2] ΛΙΛΥ(βα)ΙΤΑΝ; woman's head veiled. On the reverse, ΠΥΘΙΩν ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝ, the names of two magistrates; serpent coiled round a tripod. Bronze coin of Lilybaeum. For another, see vol. i. p. 548.

up in battle array upon the shore (3d of September, 36 B.C.). The action was very fierce, and the victory long remained undecided. Agrippa, like the first consul who conquered the Carthaginians on the sea, had armed his vessels with harpoons, to hold fast to the enemy's ships, so that they could easily be boarded by his sailors.[1] As soon as Sextus saw that victory was inclining to the side of the Octavians, he extinguished the signal-light of his admiral's galley, threw his ring and the insignia of command into the sea, and fled with seventeen of his vessels. Messina was in a state to sustain a long siege, and he still had two armies in the island, — one near Lilybaeum, and the other in the direction of Naulochus; but he left them in disorder. Like a pirate chief, he landed for a short time on the coast of Bruttium to plunder the temple of the Lacinian Juno, and thence set sail towards Asia,[3] thinking to claim from Antony the price of the services he had rendered the triumvir's mother in

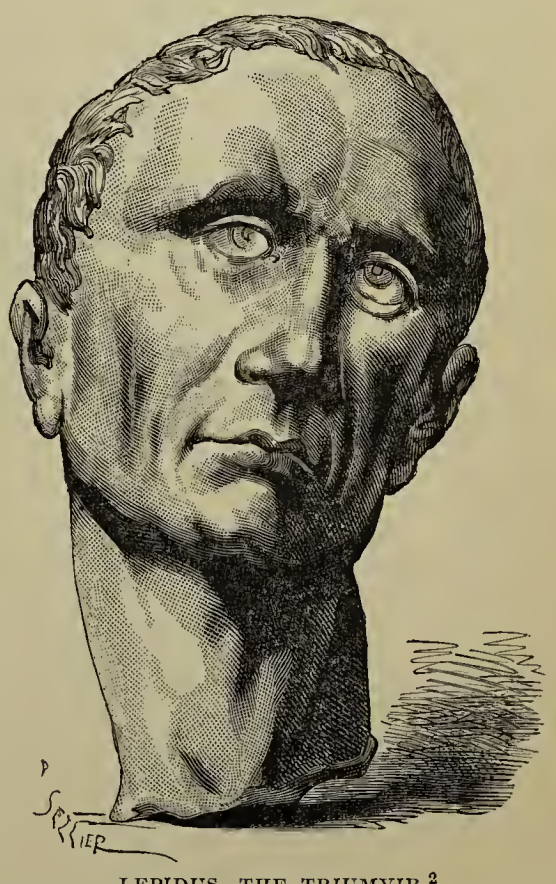
SEXTUS POMPEIUS.[2]

[1] The harpoon of Agrippa was a piece of wood, five cubits (seven feet, six inches) long, strengthened with iron bands and terminated at each end with a ring, one having attached to it a strong iron hook and the other cords, by means of which a machine drew back the harpoon when, thrown by a catapult, it had caught hold of one of the enemy's ships (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 118).

[2] Statue of Parian marble, found not far from Tusculum, signed by Ophelion, son of Aristonidas (Louvre Museum, No. 150 in the Clarac Catalogue).

[3] Dion, xlix. 1[8].

the war of Perusia. At Lesbos he heard of the unfavorable issue of the expedition against the Parthians, and thought the opportunity was a good one to repair his fortunes at the expense of the wavering master of Asia. He easily took several cities; but the negotiations which he opened with the kings of Pontus and the Parthians, made his last friends abandon him. Even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, left him; being some time afterwards forced to give himself up, he was put to death at Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35).[1]



LEPIDUS, THE TRIUMVIR.[2]

The eight legions which he had deserted had assembled in Messina, to which Lepidus laid siege. Their leaders demanded from the triumvir, as a reward for going over to his standards, permission for their soldiers, like his own, to plunder the town which had given them refuge. Notwithstanding Agrippa's opposition, Lepidus consented to this; and for a whole night the unhappy city was given over to be sacked and pillaged by its defenders and by its foes. Lepidus now found himself in command of twenty legions. He persuaded himself that with such a force it would be easy for him to take a higher position than had been accorded him since the formation of the triumvirate. In a conference with Octavius he spoke haughtily, and claimed the addition of Sicily to his government. Octavius reproached him with his intentional delays and his secret negotiations with Sextus; and they parted, both disposed to begin another civil war. Octavius knew how little affection the troops

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 134–144, and Strabo, iii. 141. Dion makes him die at Midea, in Phrygia.

[2] Bronze bust found at Montmartre in 1787 in the ruins of an ancient foundry (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3120 in the Catalogue).

had for his rival; he dared to appear in their camp without arms and without guards. He was already haranguing them, when Lepidus, hastening up with a few devoted soldiers, drove him away by a shower of arrows. But the fidelity of his troops was shaken; several legions went over to Octavius when he approached with his army, and Lepidus barely escaped being killed in opposing the desertion which was becoming general. He was obliged to go and throw himself at the feet of his former colleague and ask that his life might be spared. Octavius was strong enough now not to be cruel; he banished him to Circeii, leaving him his estates and his dignity of pontifex maximus. There Lepidus lived for twenty-three years. "He was," says Montesquieu, "the worst citizen in the Republic, and one is well pleased to see his humiliation. He lacked firmness and talent, and was wholly indebted to circumstances for the important position to which fortune seems to have raised him for a time, only to make his fall more signal."

MESSINA (FROM A PRINT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

CHAPTER LXI.

DUUMVIRATE OF OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (36-30).

I. — Wise Administration of Octavius; Reverses and Follies of Antony in the East (36–33).

THE problem of the future destiny of the Republic was becoming simpler. But lately there had been parties, — the people, the Senate, the nobles, — and ambitious men, great and small. Above this chaos of intrigue three men had raised themselves; then there had been two; then one only. This man being dead, anarchy re-appeared; and again three men had seized the power, repeating the experiment which had just failed. Now there remained but two, as there had been seventeen years before. But how much gain had been made by monarchical ideas? At the time of the former triumvirate, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero were all living. Now those noble hearts were cold, the people and the Senate had abdicated irrevocably, and one might almost say unregretfully. Antony was master in the East, Octavius in the West, reigning jointly until one of them should gain all.

ANTONY.[1]

REVERSE.

Since the deposition of Lepidus, Octavius had forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, and nearly forty thousand light troops; and six hundred vessels carried his flag.[2] But for revolutionary commanders the day after the victory is more to be feared than the

[1] M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony, bare, facing right. On the reverse, L. MVSSIDIVS T. F. LONGVS. III. VIR. A. P. F. (*auro publico feriundo*); Mars with helmet, standing with his foot upon a shield, and holding a spear and the *parazonium*. Gold coin. A souvenir of Antony's victories in the East, which another of his coins typifies by a genius of the East with wings and aureole, having one foot on a globe, but announcing, by the caduceus and cornucopia which he bears, the prosperity that these victories were to secure.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 127.

day of combat. The soldiers, knowing their power, imperiously demanded the same rewards as after the battle of Philippi. He promised them wreaths and arms of honor; to their tribunes, to their centurions, he would give the *toga praetexta;* he would make them senators of their cities. "These are playthings for children," answered the tribune Ofilius; "a soldier wants money and lands." Octavius did not seem offended by this freedom; but the following night the tribune disappeared.[1] In all Octavius distributed twenty thousand discharges and bounties, for which Sicily alone furnished sixteen hundred talents; each soldier received five hundred drachmae. After having regulated the administration of Sicily and sent Statilius Taurus into Africa to take possession of that province, he returned to Rome. The Senate received him at the gates of the city; the people, who saw the sudden return of plenty, accompanied him, crowned with flowers, to the Capitol. They would have loaded him with honors. Beginning already to play his part of disinterestedness and modesty, he accepted the tribunitian inviolability, the ovation, and a statue of gold.[2] It was further proposed to raise him to the dignity of pontifex maximus, depriving Lepidus of that honor; but Octavius refused, not to break the law which declared this office to be for life.

Caesar had been ruined by proclaiming aloud his scorn of those political hypocrisies which lend life to things that are dead. Octavius accepted the yet popular falsehood that the Republic still existed. The second triumvirate had become, by virtue of a plebiscitum, a legal magistracy, thus differing from the first, which had been only a secret association of three powerful men. Of legal forms like this Octavius showed himself the scrupulous observer. Before re-entering the city, — outside the pomoerium, for an imperator must not harangue in the Forum, — he had read a speech in which he accounted to the people for all his acts, and he caused copies of it to be distributed. Therein he pleaded necessity as an excuse for the proscriptions. For the future he promised peace and clemency; and in proof of this new moderation he caused the letters written to Sextus Pompeius by several men of importance to be publicly burned. In order to show that only the necessities of war, and not a spirit of rapine, had obliged him to raise so much

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 128.

[2] *Id.*, *ibid.* 130; Dion, xlix. 13–15.

money, he abolished several taxes and granted to the State debtors and the publicans the remission of the arrears due by them to the treasury.[1] Finally, he declared it was his intention to abdicate as soon as Antony had finished his war against the Parthians. Meanwhile, that the sincerity of his promises might not be doubted, he restored to the urban magistrates their former powers, and would have at the foot of his statue no other inscription than this: "For having, after long troubles, restored peace on land and sea."

And this was true; for his energetic administration put everything in the peninsula in order. Sabinus expelled the troops of bandits from Italy; all slaves who had escaped under cover of the general disorder were seized and restored to their masters, or when not claimed, were put to death; several cohorts of a night watch, which he organized, searched out the malefactors in Rome; and in less than a year security, so long lost, was restored in the city and in the country.[3] At last Rome was governed. Instead of magistrates using their offices only in the interest of their own ambition and their own fortune, she had now a vigilant administration, occupied with the welfare and safety of the inhabitants. Thus the Italian cities, saved from famine by his victory, and restored to tranquillity by the order which he everywhere established, blessed this beneficent sway; and some of them had already placed the image of Octavius among the statues of their tutelary gods.

ANTONIUS AND OCTAVIA.[2]

After the treaty of Brundusium Antony had remained at Athens with Octavia, watching at once, in the midst of festivities, over events in Italy and over affairs in the East. The Parthians were not very formidable outside their immense plains. On the irregular soil of Syria and of Asia Minor their cavalry had not been able to stand against the Roman infantry, and Antony's lieutenants had everywhere gained brilliant advantages. Sosius

[1] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 130; Dion, xlix. 15.

[2] M. ANTONIVS M. F. M. N. AVGVR. IMP. TER., with head of Antony. On the reverse of another of Antony's coins is the head of Octavia, with the inscription, COS. DESIGN. ITER. ET TER. III. VIR. R. P. C. Antony was consul-elect in 35, the third year of the renewed triumvirate.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.* v. 132.

had driven them from Syria; Canidius, conqueror of the Armenians and of the people of Albania and Iberia, their allies, had carried his ensigns to the foot of the Caucasus. But the greatest successes fell to Ventidius, that Asculan who, in the Social war, had been led captive behind the triumphal chariot of the father of Pompey the Great. In Cilicia he had defeated the Parthians and Labienus, who was killed in his flight. A second Parthian army had met with the same fate, its chief, Pacorus, being also left on the battle-field; and the Parthians had been driven beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Ventidius, however, had not dared to pursue them, fearing perhaps to excite the jealousy of his superior officer; but in order to close against them the road to Asia Minor, he had stayed to besiege the fortress of Samosata, in Commagene, whose king, Antiochus, had given free passage to the Parthians.[1]

COIN OF SAMOSATA.[2]

In honor of these successes Antony gave magnificent games in Athens, where he appeared with all the attributes of Hercules. The Athenians, who had already exhausted in his behalf all kinds of adulation, could find during these *fêtes* no other new flattery but that of offering him the hand of Athene, their protectress. He accepted, demanding a thousand talents as the marriage portion of the goddess. "When thy father, the mighty Zeus, espoused thy mother Semele," said the luckless Athenians, thus entrapped, "he did not require her to bring him a dowry." "Zeus was rich, I am poor," answered the triumvir. Meanwhile, incited to action by the victories of his lieutenants, Antony appeared for a few days in Asia, at the siege of Samosata, the conduct of which he took from Ventidius, sending him to triumph at Rome. On his arrival Antiochus had offered him a thousand talents as ransom for the town; the triumvir was glad to get three hundred for taking his departure. He again returned to Athens, leaving Sosius in Syria.[3]

ANTIOCHUS OF COMMAGENE.[4]

This general had much difficulty with the Jews. The cause of all the troubles in this little kingdom was the minister

[1] Dion, xlix. 19–21.

[2] ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤ; lion passant.

[3] Plut., *Anton.* 35.

[4] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙ (the great King, Antiochus Epiphanes); head of Antiochus IV., King of Commagene, with diadem.

of Hyrcanus, the Idumaean Antipater. Appointed by Caesar procurator of Judaea, and supported by his son Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, he had conceived the project of taking away the throne from the family of the Maccabees. The Parthians expelled him and replaced the feeble Hyrcanus by his nephew Antigonus; but Herod, taking refuge at Rome, there gained the favor of Antony, who caused him to be recognized by the Senate as King of the Jews, in order to oppose him to the candidate of the Parthians.

Sosius, ordered to support the new king, took Jerusalem by assault; and the last representative of the heroic family of the Maccabees, being carried to Antioch, was beaten with rods and beheaded. Herod took unopposed possession of the throne, whereon he thought to establish himself more securely by marrying Mariamne, the heiress of the dynasty which had just come to an end[1] (37).

OCTAVIA.[2]

On quitting Tarentum and Italy for the last time (36), Antony had left Octavia and her children there. He had decided at last to conduct the war against the Parthians himself. But hardly had he touched the soil of Asia when his passion for Cleopatra revived with all its former intensity; he sent for her to Laodiceia, acknowledged the children he had had by her, Alexander and Cleopatra, giving to the former the title of King of kings, as if he reserved for his son's heritage the kingdoms he was about

[1] Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 8, 15; Dion, xlix. 22; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 75; Tac., *Hist.* v. 9.

[2] Bronze bust found at Lyons and preserved in the Louvre (Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiq.*, etc., No. 639).

to conquer. Nor was it only the enemies of Rome who were to bear the cost of his generosity. Cleopatra, faithful to the unchanging policy of all the intelligent rulers of Egypt, obtained the addition to her kingdom of what the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, the Arabs and the Mamelukes, Bonaparte and Mehemet Ali, have always coveted, — Phoenicia, Caele-Syria, Cyprus, with a part of Judaea and Arabia, and the whole of Cilicia Trachea, which furnished the cedars of Taurus, used for ship-building; that is to say, nearly all the coast from the Nile to Asia Minor.[1] These countries were for the most part Roman provinces. But was there still a Rome, a Senate, laws, — anything save the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir?

Antony had at this time thirty legions (representing an effective force of sixty thousand men), ten thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand auxiliaries, furnished principally by the Armenian Artavasdes, the enemy of another Artavasdes, King of Media Atropatene. Asia trembled at the news of these preparations.[2] As far as Bactriana, as far as India, the rumor spread of this immense army of Western warriors; moreover, division prevailed amongst its enemies. A new revolution had stained with blood the throne of Ctesiphon. At the news of the death of his son Pacorus, Orodes, falling into profound despondency, had chosen Phraates as his successor. The latter, impatient to reign, had killed his father and all his brothers. Many nobles threatened by him had fled, and Antony, renewing in favor of the most important of them, Monaeses, the generosity of Artaxerxes towards Themistocles, had given him three cities for his maintenance.

From Mount Ararat, the highest point of Armenia, two mountain chains extend, inclosing the immense basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The one covers with its heights Syria and Palestine; the other, Media, Susiana, and Persia. From the former stretches northward the Taurus as far as the extremity of Asia Minor; from the latter, the mountains which form on the east the southern boundary of the Caspian Sea. To reach Ctesiphon, situated on the Tigris, there were then two roads, — the shorter one across the arid

[1] Strabo, xiv. 669 and 677; Plut., *Anton.* 37; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xv. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9; Dion, xlix. 32.

[2] Plut., *Anton.* 39.

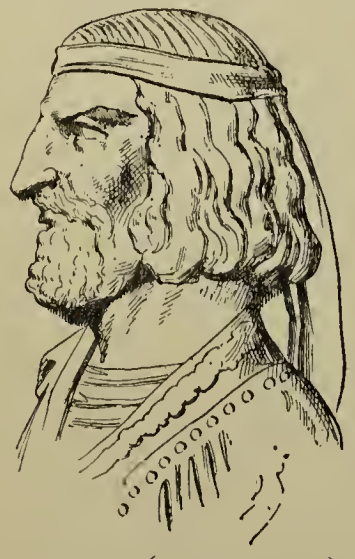
plains of Mesopotamia, which was that taken by Crassus; the other and longer one, by the mountains of Armenia and Media Atropatene, passed round those burning solitudes, and led the Roman infantry, over ground favorable to its tactics, towards Ecbatana and Ctesiphon in the very heart of the Empire. This was the one chosen by Antony. The season was already too far advanced when he began the campaign; he should have taken up his winter-quarters in Armenia, and there allowed his troops to rest, wearied as they were with a march of eight thousand stadia; and in the first days of spring, before the Parthians had left their quarters, he could easily have made the conquest of Media; but, urged by the desire to rejoin Cleopatra, he continued to advance in order to end the war as quickly as possible.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.[1]

Three hundred wains carried all his engines, among which was a ram eighty feet long. Delayed by this heavy train, Antony decided to leave it behind him under escort of one division, and advanced as far as Phrahata, — a short distance from the Caspian Sea. Finding all his attacks on this place unsuccessful, he recognized the mistake he had made in abandoning his engines; and it was still more evident when he heard that Phraates had surprised the body of troops which guarded them, had killed ten thousand men, and burned the train. Disheartened by this defeat, Artavasdes retired with his Armenians. To encourage his troops, Antony, with ten legions, went in search of the enemy, whom he met a day's journey from his camp, put them to flight, and pursued them for some distance. But when the legionaries, returning to the battlefield, found but thirty slain, this victory, which they had thought so great, seemed hardly a skirmish; and comparing the result with the effort it had cost, they became discouraged. Indeed, on the morrow they saw the enemy re-appear again as bold and insolent as ever. During this affair a sally of the besieged had carried dismay into the Roman camp; the three legions left in the lines had fled; and on his return Antony caused them to be decimated.

[1] Silver coin, with heads of Antony and Cleopatra (Millin, *Gal. Mythol.* pl. clxxviii. *bis*, fig. 672).

Winter was approaching; and while it was dreaded by the Romans, who already fell short of provisions, Phraates feared that he should be unable to keep his Parthians in tents during the cold weather. He made overtures, which Antony eagerly accepted; the legions were to raise the siege, and the king engaged not to molest their retreat. For two days the march was undisturbed; on the third, the Parthians attacked them in what seemed a favorable place. But a Marsian, who had for a long time been their prisoner, had warned the triumvir; his troops were in battle array, and the enemy was repulsed. The four following days were like the first two; on the seventh, the enemy again appeared. The



ORODES (ARSACES XIV.).

PHRAATES IV. (ARSACES XV.).[1]

legions were formed into a square; and the light troops, disposed on the wings and as rear-guard, kept the enemy at a distance. Unfortunately the tribune Gallus, after having repulsed the enemy several times, stubbornly held a position where he was surrounded, and had lost three thousand men before he could be relieved. From that time the Parthians, emboldened by success, each morning renewed their attack, and the army could only advance by fighting. In danger, Antony recovered the qualities which had formerly gained him the love of the troops; brave and indefatigable, he encouraged his men during the action by his example, and in the evening went among the tents lavishing help and sympathy on the wounded. "Oh, Retreat of the Ten Thousand!" he cried more than once, thinking with admiration of the courage and success of

[1] From two coins in the *Cabinet de France*.

the companions of Xenophon. Finally, at the end of twenty-seven days' march, during which they had been engaged in eighteen actions, the Romans reached the frontiers of Armenia, on the banks of the Araxes, and kissed the shore devoutly, — as the sailor escaped from shipwreck welcomes the land upon which the tempest has thrown him.[1] Their road from Phrahata was marked by the corpses of twenty-four thousand legionaries.

If the King of Armenia had not left the Roman camp so soon, the retreat would have been less disastrous, inasmuch as his six thousand horsemen would have enabled the army to follow up their successes. Antony, however, did not reproach him, and postponed his vengeance, lest he might be delayed in returning to Cleopatra. Notwithstanding a rigorous winter and continual snows, he hastened his march, and lost eight thousand more of his troops. He at last reached the coast of Syria, between Berytus and Sidon, where Cleopatra joined him, bringing clothing, provisions, and presents for the officers and soldiers. An occasion offered for him to repair his defeat. Phraates and the King of the Medes quarrelled over the spoils, and the exasperated Mede offered to join the Romans with all his forces, for a new campaign. Cleopatra prevented her lover from answering this call to honor, and carried him off with her to Alexandria.

COIN OF BERYTUS.[2]

COIN OF SIDON.[3]

In spite of this disastrous retreat, which contrasted with the successes obtained in the same year by his colleague, Antony sent messengers of victory to Rome; but Octavius took care to have the truth known, though in public he spoke only with praise of the army in the East, and decreed feasts and sacrifices in their honor.[4] At the games celebrated the following year on the death of Sextus, he caused Antony's chariot to appear with triumphal pomp; and as a sign of the cordial understanding existing between them, he placed the latter's statue in the Temple of Concord. This was characteristic of the man who always had in his mouth the proverb, *Hasten slowly*, and this other, *You are in time enough if you arrive.*

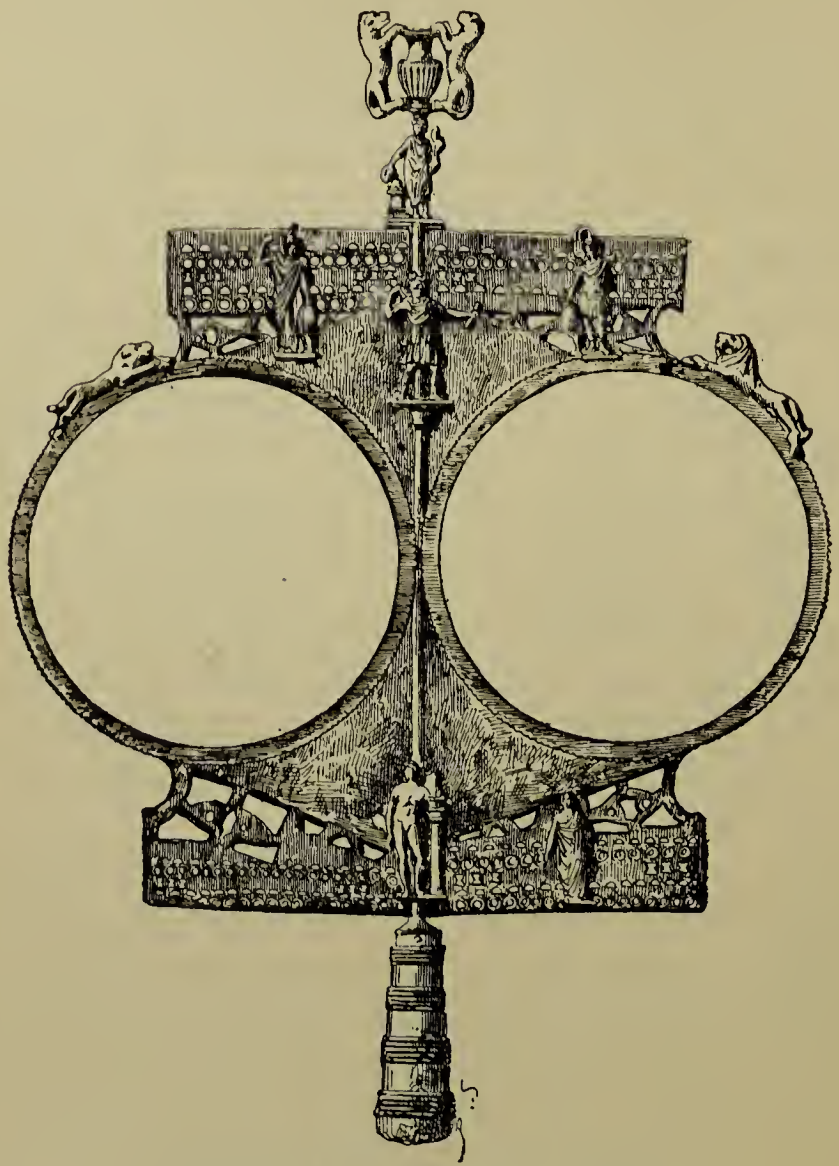
[1] Plut., *Anton.* 49.

[2] Head of the city, turreted.

[3] A ship with the inscription, ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΥΑΡ.

[4] Dion, xlix. 32.

Octavia did not enter into these selfish calculations; on the contrary, she tried to save her husband from the fatal influence[1] which was leading him to his ruin, and asked permission of her brother to leave Rome and rejoin Antony. He granted it, wishing



BRONZE STANDARD FOUND AT ATHENS.[2]

to temporize to the last, or in the secret hope that an affront offered to his sister would furnish him with a pretext for war and take from his rival whatever popularity the latter still possessed. Antony had at this time returned to Syria, where he was making preparations for a new expedition, apparently directed against the

[1] Horace said of Cleopatra: *Fatale monstrum* (*Od.* I. xxxvii. 22).

[2] Lebas and Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Grèce et en Asie min.* pl. 109. In the two frames were set portraits of the Emperors.

Parthians, but in reality against the King of Armenia. He learned there that his wife had already arrived at Athens; and, as Octavius had anticipated, he ordered her to come no farther.

She readily divined the motives for this so offensive message; however, she replied only by asking him whither she should send what she had intended to bring in person to him. This was clothes for the soldiers, a great number of beasts of burden, money, and presents of value for his officers and friends, and finally, two thousand picked men as splendidly armed as were the praetorian cohorts. The manœuvres of Cleopatra rendered those noble efforts vain. The Egyptian affected a deep melancholy and a disgust for life, which caused Antony to fear some desperate resolution. He dared not break his chain; and she, lest he should escape her, would not allow him to make the expedition against the Medes that year (35).

On Octavia's return to Rome her brother ordered her to leave the house of this unworthy husband. She refused; and continued to bring up with her own children those of Antony and Fulvia, giving them equal care and almost equal affection. And if some friend of her husband's arrived in the city to canvass an office or attend to some personal business, she received him at her house and aided him in obtaining from her brother the solicited favors. But this conduct defeated her aim. The contrast between such virtue on the one side and such misconduct on the other increased the public hatred against the offender.

CAPTIVE ARMENIA.[1]

In the following year (34) Antony made a short expedition into Armenia. Dellius had preceded him, under pretext of asking for a son of Antony and Cleopatra the hand of one of the daughters of Artavasdes, but in reality to lull the vigilance of that prince. Antony penetrated as far as Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, and invited the king to come to an understanding with him in respect to the expedition against the Parthians. In spite of all assurances Artavasdes feared some treachery. Hearing, however, that the triumvir was marching upon Artaxata, he hoped to appease the storm by accepting the invitation. He was seized, loaded with

[1] ARMENIA CAPTA; Victory taming a bull. Gold coin (Cohen, *Méd. imp.* i. pl. 48, No. 46).

golden chains, and carried to Alexandria, into which city Antony made a triumphal entrance.[1] All the great works of art that were left in Asia by the proconsuls now went to decorate the new capital of the East; all the library of Pergamum, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, was carried thither.

PTOLEMY CAESARION.[2]

Rome was offended at this infringement of her rights; but the triumvir had forgotten that he was a Roman. Shortly after this he caused two golden thrones to be erected upon a silver daïs, — one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. He declared her Queen of Egypt and Cyprus, associated Caesarion with her, and bestowed the title of king upon Alexander and Ptolemy, his two sons by her. To the former he gave, together with Armenia, Media and the kingdom of the Parthians, which he already regarded as his conquest; to the second, Syria and Cilicia, with Phoenicia; to their sister Cleopatra, the future wife of Juba II., he assigned as a marriage portion that part of Libya bordering on the Cyrenaïca. He presented then the two princes to the people, Alexander wearing the Median robe and the tiara, Ptolemy with the long mantle and the diadem of the successors of Alexander.

CLEOPATRA SELENE, DAUGHTER OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.[3]

JUBA II., KING OF MAURETANIA, HUSBAND OF CLEOPATRA SELENE.[3]

Henceforth the new-made kings always appeared in public surrounded by a guard of Asiatics or Macedonians. Antony himself laid aside the toga for a purple robe; and he was seen, like the Eastern monarchs, wearing a diadem and carrying a golden sceptre, and with a scimitar at his side; or else accompanying Cleopatra through the streets of Alexandria, now in the costume

[1] Dion, xlix. 39–40. [2] From a bas-relief in the temple of Denderah (Rosellini, *op. cit.*).
[3] Visconti, *Iconog. grecq.* iii. pl. 55.

of Osiris, more often as Bacchus, drawn in a chariot decked with garlands, with cothurni on his feet, a crown of gold upon his head, and the thyrsus in his hand. He had made his legionaries attendants and guards of the Queen; their shields bore her monogram,[1] and on the coins were seen the heads of Antony and Cleopatra. How pressing the need of a master, when this madman could find a hundred thousand men still ready to fight to win the empire for him!

AGRIPPA.

CLEOPATRA.[2]

Finally, however, he remembered Rome, and he was not ashamed to ask from the Senate the confirmation of all his acts. The consuls in office, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius, dared not, though they were his friends, read his mad despatches aloud.

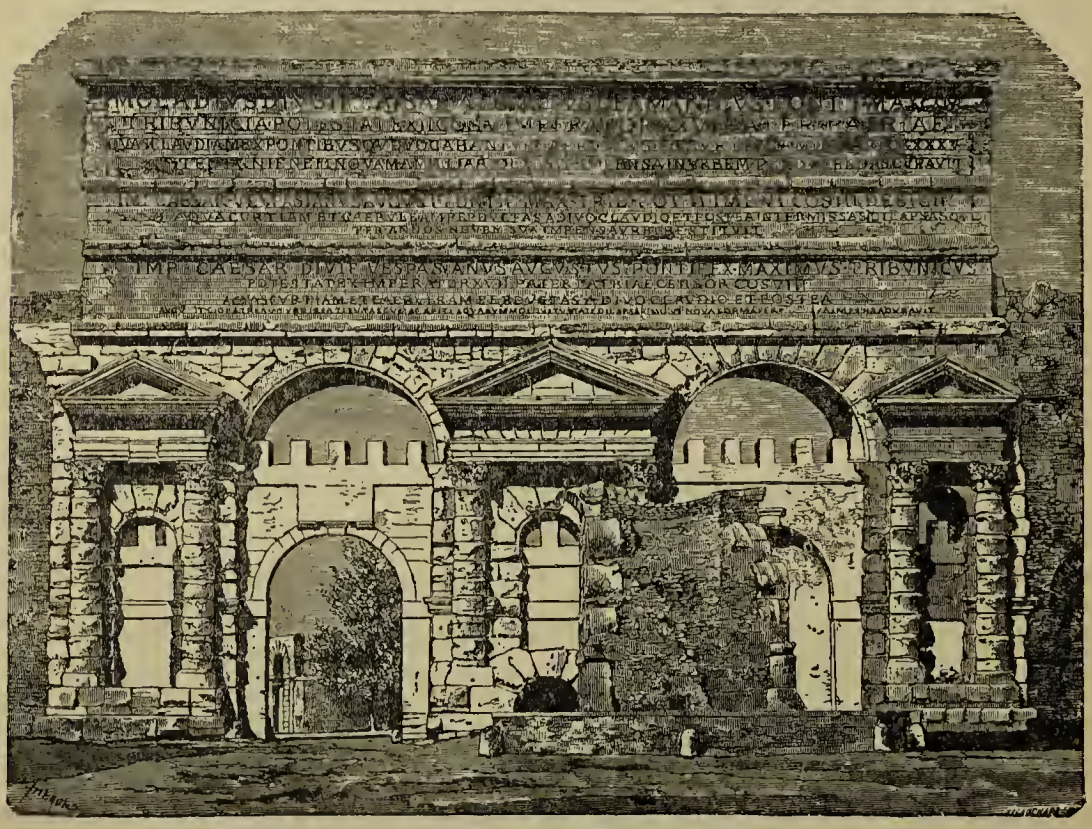
While Antony was thus dishonoring himself in the East, what was Octavius doing? We have already said it, — he was governing the Empire; he was giving Italy the repose for which she yearned. To have the right of making useful changes, Agrippa, the man of consular rank and the often-victorious general, accepted, by order of Octavius, the modest office of aedile (33). He at once undertook immense works: the State buildings were repaired, the roads re-construeted, and public fountains opened. Some of the aqueducts had fallen into decay; he repaired them, and built a new one, the *Aqua Julia*. The choked sewers had become a cause of unhealthiness; he explored the main channel in a boat, and caused them to be cleaned out. He opened a hundred and seventy free baths to the public, and adorned the Circus with dolphins and oval signals showing the number of rounds.[3] To complete the reconciliation of the people with Octavius, he celebrated games, which lasted fifty-nine days, and in the theatre tickets were distributed which could be exchanged for money, garments, and other gifts.

[1] Plut., *Anton.* 59; Dion, l. 5.

[2] Bust of Cleopatra with diadem, encircled by a Latin inscription, CLEOPATRAE REGINAE FILIORVM REGVM. Silver coin.

[3] To win the prize for the race, it was necessary to be the first to accomplish six rounds. At each round one of the seven dolphins and one of the seven ovals was lowered. (See the engraving on p. 623 of the first volume.) Pliny says of Rome concerning the drains: *urbe pensili, subterque navigata* (xxxvi. 24).

Even before the festivals he had made gratuitous distributions of salt and oil, and had left immense quantities of goods of all descriptions exposed in the public square for the crowd to divide among themselves. This rough soldier believed in the good influence of art. He bought pictures and set them up in public places; and in



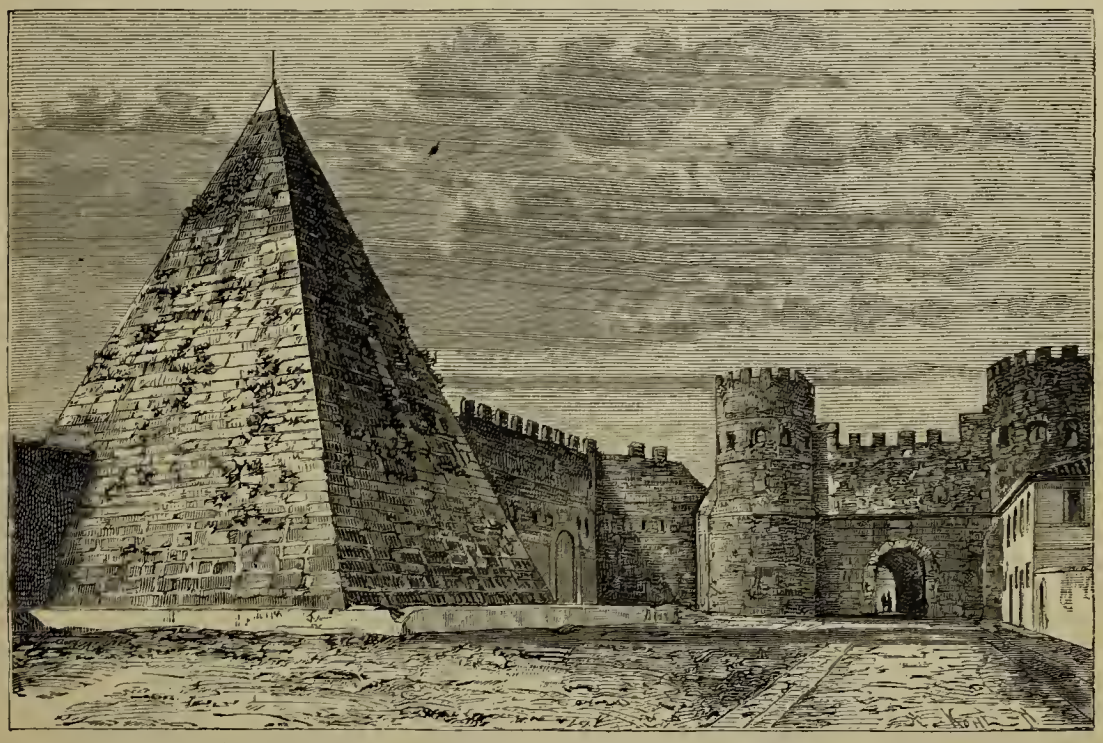
PORTA MAGGIORE, OR PORTA NEVIA, AT ROME.[1]

Pliny's time there was still preserved a noble speech of his on the advantages of bringing out objects of art from their exile in the villas of the wealthy and collecting them in permanent exhibitions.[2] To this period belongs the pyramid of Cestius.

[1] Three aqueducts were carried over it, one above another, — the *Aqua Julia* of Agrippa, the *Aqua Tepula* (of the year 127 B.C.), and the *Aqua Marcia* (of 144 B.C.), which Agrippa repaired (Front., *de Aquaed.* ii. 8, 9, 12, 19; Dion, xlviii. 32). The *Porta Maggiore* is situated at the fork of the road to Praeneste, on the Labican Way. Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus in turn strengthened this fine structure, as is recorded by the three inscriptions engraved one above the other upon the broad string-course. The small crenellated arches which injure the grand effect of the triumphal arch are the work of the Middle Ages (cf. Wey, *Rome*, pp. 264 and 265).

[2] Dion (xlix. 43) mentions the expulsion from Rome by Agrippa of the astrologers and magicians; and a senatus-consultum forbade the summoning of a senator before a court of justice ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ, for robbery. This passage has furnished matter for many commentaries. I think it must be looked upon as the commencement by Octavius of the reform completed by Augustus, rendering the senators answerable to the Senate alone.

Though occupied with the public interest, military renown was not wanting to this government, and was acquired by necessary expeditions. That Octavius talked of a descent upon Britain, was due to the necessity of impressing men's minds, which the wars waged by Caesar, Pompey, and Antony at the ends of the earth had rendered contemptuous of modest enterprises; also, by allowing these warlike rumors to circulate, he provided himself with a pretext for maintaining a considerable army. He already perceived



PYRAMID OF CESTIUS.[1]

that instead of venturing upon distant expeditions, Rome's first need was to subdue the barbarians at her own gates; that security must be given to Italy and Greece by subjugating the pirates of the Adriatic and the restless tribes established in the north of the two peninsulas.

After a brief appearance in Africa to consolidate his power there, he led his legions against the Illyrians, desiring to remove his soldiers from Italy, where they were becoming demoralized,

[1] This *septemvir epulonum* was desirous of having for a tomb a pyramid a hundred feet in height, and wished to have his most costly carpets buried with his ashes. Agrippa opposed this in the name of the law of the Twelve Tables on the subject of funerals, and the heirs obtained such a high price for these tapestries that they were able to give the pyramid a coating of marble (Wilmanns, 216).

and strengthen their discipline by a foreign war, and, without oppressing the people, to hold them ready for the inevitable struggle with Antony. The Iapodes, the Liburnians, and the Dalmatians were subdued. At the siege of a stronghold courageously defended by the Iapodes, his troops one day fled; Octavius seized a shield, and was the fifth to cross a wooden bridge leading to the wall. The soldiers, seeing their general's danger, rushed back in such numbers that the bridge broke, and Octavius was severely wounded.[1] This was by way of answer to those who during the Civil war had accused him of cowardice.

The Alps leave open one wide gate into Northern Italy, which is only in part guarded by the Julian range. To make it secure Octavius went across those mountains and established garrisons in the valley of the Save, where he took the strong place of Siscia. Some of the Pannonians promised him obedience. In the Val d' Aosta he repressed the incursions of the Salassi; and though he did not then subdue them, he made their raids difficult by founding two colonies, which became Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Praetoria (Turin and Aosta). Finally, in Africa, the last prince of Caesarian Mauretania being dead, he united the latter's possessions to the Roman province. Agrippa and Messala had displayed their usual talent in these wars (35–33).

II. — Rupture between Octavius and Antony (32–30).

Thus, of the two triumvirs, one was giving Roman countries to a barbarian queen, the other was augmenting the territory of the Empire. The former was diverting towards Alexandria the treasures, the works of art, and the respect of the East; the latter, as in the best days of the Republic, was decorating the Forum with rude but glorious spoils, and employing the booty taken from the Dalmatians in founding the Portico and Library of Octavia. Antony meanwhile complained. On the 1st of January, in the year 32, the consul Sosius reproached Octavius in his name for having dispossessed Sextus without sharing with his colleague the acquired

[1] App., *Bell. Illyr.* 14 and *sq.*; Dion, xlix. 34–38; Suet., *Octav.* 20.

provinces; and also for having distributed among his soldiers all the lands in Italy, reserving nothing for the legions in the East He added that Antony was ready to yield up to the people the powers which had been intrusted to him if the other triumvir would set the example. Octavius was at the time absent from Rome; a few days later he appeared in the Senate, accompanied by soldiers, and by friends with arms concealed beneath their togas. To the consul's accusations he replied that Lepidus, having shown himself incapable and cruel, had been justly reduced to a private condition; that if Sicily and Africa had been added to the western provinces Antony had taken Egypt for himself; that, lastly, Antony had sufficient to indemnify himself and his soldiers from the brilliant conquests he had made in Asia, but that he had preferred to lavish on Cleopatra and her children the treasures and provinces of Rome, whose name he was dishonoring by his conduct and by his double treachery towards Sextus and Artavasdes.[1]

CLEOPATRA (FROM A COIN).

Upon this declaration, which announced a rupture, the two consuls, who were friends of Antony, left Rome, together with several senators, and went to join their patron. He was then in Armenia, where he hoped to prevail upon the tribes to redeem their king by giving up his treasures; but the Armenians had preferred to proclaim Artaxias, the son of the captive prince, who unfortunately was unable to defend himself, and fled to the King of the Parthians, Phraates IV. In order to secure the alliance of the King of the Medes, Antony gave him part of Armenia, and married his son Alexander to the daughter of that prince. In return the Median King gave back the standards taken from the

PHRAATES IV. (ARSACES XV.).[2]

[1] Plut., *Anton.* 55; Dion, l. 1–3. He also reproved him sharply for having recognized Caesarion as Caesar's son, and having declared him a member of the Julian family. [Hence he had him put to death at Alexandria as an impostor. Cf. below, pp. 658 and 671, note 2. — *Ed.*]

[2] Bust, facing left; diademed head of Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV., King of the Persians from the year 37 to the year 14 of our era. From a coin in the *Cabinet de France.*

legions during the expeditions of the year 36, and furnished the triumvir with cavalry and a subsidy.

On the news of the declarations made by Octavius in the Senate, Antony had decided upon war. He ordered his lieutenant, Canidius, to assemble his land forces; and in spite of all that has been said about his effeminacy and carelessness, which have doubtless been much exaggerated, he still had sixteen legions ready to take the field. He quickly reached the town of Ephesus, where eight hundred vessels were assembled. The queen had given two hundred of them, with twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole duration of the war; but she had followed him. Vainly did Antony's friends, Domitius and Planeus, urge him to send her back to her kingdom. She wished to keep watch upon her lover, and prevent any reconciliation which would lead him back to Octavia. By means of bribery she won over Canidius; and the old soldier declared to his general that Cleopatra, habituated as she was to public affairs, would be a better adviser for him than any of the kings who followed his standards.

MOUNTEBANK ON A CROCODILE.[1]

Her presence soon became perceptible in the slackening of the preparations. The banquets began again. While from Syria to

[1] Group in the British Museum representing an Egyptian performing feats of tumbling. Crocodiles often appear in the games of the Romans (Clarac, pl. 875, No. 2223A).

the Palus Maeotis, and from Armenia to the shores of the Adriatic, kings and peoples were in motion to collect and transport provisions and arms, Antony and Cleopatra lived at Samos amid games and revelries; mountebanks, flute-players, and comedians had flocked thither from all Asia in such numbers that Antony gave them a town for payment, the city of Priene. At Athens "the inimitable life" continued. In that city Cleopatra at length

TEMPLE OF ATHENE POLIAS, AT PRIENE.[1]

extorted from Antony an act of divorce against Octavia, which he sent to the latter at Rome. She submitted to it; and taking with her the children of Fulvia, she left the house whence their father expelled her. She wept at the thought that the Romans might consider her as one of the causes of this war, and she had a right to think so; but between these two ambitious men, the insult offered to this noble woman was scarcely even a pretext (32). Many who valued the peace which Octavius maintained, lamented with her. Distracted from his amours and his gay songs by the din of arms, the favorite poet of Maecenas sadly exclaimed: "O ship, fresh storms bear thee forth into the waves!"[2]

[1] O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latinique*, vol. i. pl. 6.

[2] *O navis, referent in mare te novi*
Fluctus! etc. — HORACE, *Od.* I. xiv.

Octavius was uneasy at the promptitude of Antony's preparations; his own were not yet completed, and all Italy murmured at new taxes, which deprived citizens of a fourth of their income, and freedmen possessed of fifty thousand drachmae of the eighth of their fortune. Fortunately Antony completed slowly what he had begun with all the activity of Caesar's former lieutenant. The summer passed in *fêtes*, and the war was inevitably postponed till the following year. This delay gave Octavius another advantage, — the defection of several important men, who, displeased at Cleopatra's haughtiness, returned to Italy. Among them were Plancus and Titius, both of consular rank. Plancus became aware, somewhat too late, that the queen had made him play an unworthy part, after he had appeared, notwithstanding his age, at a banquet, his body painted blue, his head crowned with reeds, and dragging a fish's tail behind him, to represent a sea-god. In the Senate he began at once to inveigh against Antony. "Antony must have been guilty of many infamous deeds the day before you left him," said Coponius, maliciously.[1] Asinius Pollio showed more self-respect. When Octavius urged him to take the field, Pollio refused. "The services I have rendered Antony are greater," he said, "but those which he has rendered me are better known; therefore I cannot fight against him. I will await the issue of the struggle, and be the spoil of the victor."

COIN OF COPONIUS.[2]

Octavius had learned from Plancus that Antony's will was in the hands of the Vestals; he took it from them, and read to the Senate the passages which were likely to excite most indignation. Antony, admitting that there had been a lawful union between Cleopatra and the dictator, recognized Caesarion as Caesar's legitimate son and heir; so that in taking that name Octavius was only a usurper, and all his acts for the last twelve years were illegal. Antony renewed the gift to the queen and her children of almost all the countries which he had in his power; and finally, abjuring his fatherland and his ancestors, he ordered that even if he should

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 64. Messala had left him earlier, as soon as he had seen Antony become the Egyptian woman's slave (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 38).

[2] C. COPONIVS PR. C.; club covered with a lion's skin between a bow and an arrow. Praetor in 49, he was proscribed in 43, and was saved by his wife, who gave herself to Antony (App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 40).

PORTICO OF OCTAVIA (PRESENT STATE).

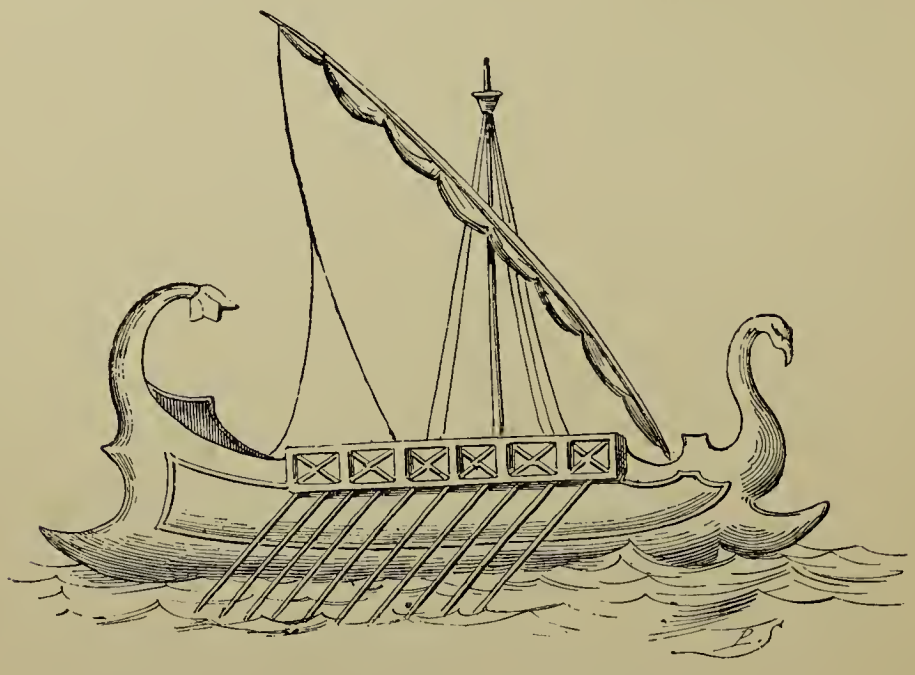
die upon the banks of the Tiber, his body should be taken to Alexandria and laid in the tomb of Cleopatra. A senator named Calvisius added still more to the public anger by relating many instances of his mad passion for this woman, who now constantly swore by the decrees that she should soon issue from the Capitol; and no man doubted that Antony's intention was to give her Rome itself, and to make of the Egyptian capital the seat of empire.[1] The few friends he still possessed sent one of their number to enlighten him as to the situation. Cleopatra heaped mortifications upon this adviser at the eleventh hour, and compelled him to return without having spoken with Antony in private. Silanus and the historian Dellius were also obliged to flee to escape the snares she laid for them.

When Octavius was ready, he instigated a decree of the Senate depriving Antony of the consulship for the year 31; and, robed as a *fetialis*, he repaired to the temple of Bellona, where he performed the ceremonies in use in ancient times upon declarations of war.[2] The queen of Egypt alone was named. "It is not Antony and the Romans whom we are going to fight," said Octavius, "but this woman, who, in the delirium of her hopes and the intoxication of her good fortune, dreams of the fall of the Capitol and the ruin of the Empire." To declare Antony a public enemy would have been to include in the proscription all the Romans whom he had with him and the whole of his army. Octavius was too prudent to say to sixteen legions that they had no alternative but victory or death. On the 1st of January, 31 B.C., he entered upon the consulship, and took as his colleague, in place of Antony, the brave Valerius Messala, by whom he had been defeated at Philippi. The triumvirate had expired on the preceding day, and he had given no notice of its renewal. It was not the triumvir going forth to fight for his own cause, but a consul of the Roman people, surrounded by the worthiest men of the State, who declared war upon the minister of a foreign queen.

[1] Dion, l. 5; Plut., *Anton.* 64; Suet., *Octav.* 17. [We may suspect both the terms of Antony's will and the policy of Cleopatra as reported by the party of Octavius. Such falsifications were usual and successful in those days, and had been practised by Antony in the case of Caesar.—*Ed.*]

[2] Dion, l. 4. (See vol. i. p. 230.)

Antony passed the winter of 32–31 at Patras. He was master of Greece, where he had assembled a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Mauretania, Commagene, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, a dynast of Cilicia, and a Thracian chief, followed his standard in person. Pontus, Galatia, the Medes, the Jews, an Arab prince, and a Lycaonian chief had sent him auxiliaries. His fleet numbered five hundred great warships, several of which had eight and ten banks of oars; but they were heavy in build, ill-managed, and destitute of rowers and marines.



SWIFT-SAILING GALLEY.[1]

When the bad state of his naval armament was represented to Antony, he said: "What does it matter about sailors? While there are oars on board and men in Greece we shall not lack for rowers." All the Greeks, however, were not for him; Mantinea sent the Caesarians a contingent which fought at Actium.[2] Others must have followed this example, for the common misfortunes of these people had not inspired them with common sentiments. Octavius had but eighty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and only two hundred and fifty vessels of inferior size. Their lightness, however, and the experience of the sailors and soldiers, who had

[1] Light vessel built upon the model of the pirate ships of Illyria and adopted by the Romans (Rich, *Antiq. grecq. et rom.* p. 363, under the word *Liburna*).

[2] Pausan. VIII. viii. 12.

been trained in the difficult war against Sextus, more than compensated for the inferiority in point of numbers.

While Octavius repaired to Corcyra, Agrippa with the fleet sailed for Methone, on the shores of the Peloponnesus, for the purpose of intercepting the convoys arriving from Egypt or Asia, and thus famishing this multitude whom Greece was too poor to feed. The lightness of his vessels secured freedom to his movements, although in the neighborhood of a fleet which appeared formidable; he penetrated everywhere, even into the Gulf of Corinth, where he took Patrae (Patras), the headquarters of Antony, and the island of Leucas, the outpost on the Ionian Sea. This war of skirmishes was already distressing the enemy; and when the army of Octavius landed on the coast of Epirus, not far from the Antonian legions, defections at once began, although Antony had sworn an oath in the presence of his troops that he would abdicate in two months after the victory. Domitius set the example; Dejotarus, Amyntas, and afterwards Philadelphos, followed his lead. Antony believed himself surrounded by traitors; and reverting to his former cruelty, tortured and then put to death Jamblicus, an Arab chief, and the senator Postumius. He even doubted Cleopatra, suspected her of wishing to poison him, and forced her to taste before him all the meats served up to them, — a precaution which the queen exposed in a terrible manner. One day, coming to the feast with a wreath of flowers in her hair, she asked her lover to throw one of these flowers into the cup from which he drank. As he was raising the cup to his lips, she suddenly caught his arm, took away the cup and gave it to a slave, who emptied it and fell down dead. Antony, filled with love and terror, from this time gave himself up to this strange creature, who united in herself all fatal fascinations.

WAR-SHIP.[1]

TARCONDIMOTOS, KING OF CILICIA.

Several partial combats preceded the decisive action. Bogud, King of Mauretania, fell in the Peloponnesus, and Nasidius was defeated by Agrippa, who in another encounter at sea slew the Cilician Tarcondimotos. At the same

[1] From an engraved gem (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*).

time Titius and Statilius Taurus obtained a victory over Antony's cavalry. Meanwhile the two armies slowly concentrated, — that of Antony at Actium, on the Acarnanian coast, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia; that of Octavius facing it on the coast

CLEOPATRA.[1]

of Epirus.[2] Antony had proposed to his rival that they should end their quarrel by a single combat, or else repair to Pharsalia

[1] Statue in the Museum of St. Mark at Venice (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 912, No. 2322).

[2] Plut., *Anton.* 19; Dion, l. 13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxi. 9. The Gulf of Ambracia, now the Gulf of Arta, communicates with the Ionian Sea by a channel 545 yards wide in the narrowest place, but not five in depth, and full of dangerous shoals and rocks. The inside of the bay, on the other hand, affords excellent anchorage. Large vessels can anchor alongside the quay beneath the walls of Prevesa. With the expenditure of some labor this little inland sea might be made a splendid closed roadstead where ironclads might anchor. It was behind this town, on the isthmus connecting the point of Prevesa with the mainland of Epirus, that Nicopolis was built. As fresh water was scarce there, Octavius built an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

with all their forces and there decide to whom the heritage of Caesar should fall. All his generals, and especially Canidius, were in favor of this latter plan.

But Cleopatra wished for a naval engagement, so that her Egyptian vessels might have a share in the victory, and in case of a reverse might secure her retreat. On land it would have been necessary to abandon Antony or run into dangers which she dared not encounter. No doubt she had represented to him that the partial defeats he had suffered, the defections which he saw increasing in number, and the difficulties which daily became greater of supporting a numerous army in Greece, ought to decide him upon seeking another battlefield; that whichever of the two adversaries obtained the command of the sea could starve the other,[1] and that the number and strength of his vessels promised him the victory; finally, that in order to open the way to Italy or to close the road against his enemies to the East — and especially to Egypt, which in the hands of the victor would be an impregnable fortress, whence Africa and Asia could be ruled without difficulty — a naval victory was necessary. These considerations must have been put forward, for without them it is impossible to understand the conduct of a man whose vices could not have taken from him all his military ability.

Antony yielded; he put twenty thousand legionaries and two thousand archers on board his galleys, which, through desertions and the sickness prevalent during the winter, were short of men. But the legionaries were very unwilling to serve on board ship. The chief of a cohort, scarred with many wounds, seeing Antony pass by, cried out to him in a sorrowful voice: "Oh, my general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword, and found your hopes upon rotten wood? Let the men of Egypt and Phoenicia fight on the sea, and give us the dry land, whereon we know how to conquer or die." Antony answered not a word, only making a sign to encourage him and give him a hope which he himself did not share; for when his pilots wished to leave the sails on land, as was customary, he ordered them to be taken on board.

[1] Τῷ γε λιμῷ χειρωσόμεθα (Dion, l. 19). Vergil has described the battle of Actium (*Aen.* viii. 675–713. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I. xxxvii.; Propert., IV. vi. 55).

[2] Plut., *Anton.* 67.

In order to reinforce the crews of his remaining galleys he had burned a hundred and forty vessels. The sailors were still too few, however, to manœuvre these cumbrous craft with ease. For four days the roughness of the sea would not suffer the two fleets to approach each other. Finally, on the 2d of September, 31, the wind fell; Antony's ships lay till midday motionless at the entrance of the Straits. About that time a light breeze sprang up, and they advanced to meet the enemy, who for some time refused to engage his right wing, in order to draw the other vessels out into the open sea. Octavius was there in person, and when he thought the Antonians were far enough from the coast, he ceased to retire, and hastened with his light craft against their heavy vessels, round which three or four of his galleys were rowing at once, overwhelming them with pikes, javelins, and flaming arrows. Meanwhile Agrippa was manœuvring to surround the right wing. Publicola, in command there, made an attempt to stop him by extending his own line; but this movement separated him from the centre, which was already threatened by the Caesarians.

However, the day was not yet lost, when Cleopatra, who was later to show a truly feminine courage in making slow and careful preparations for the last sacrifice, that she might remain beautiful in death, proved herself destitute of the virile courage of the soldier who braves violence and wounds in the fray. She gave orders to the sixty Egyptian vessels to rig their masts and run towards the Peloponnesus. At the sight of the vessel, with its purple sails, that bore away the queen, Antony, forgetting those who were dying for him, went on board his swiftest galley and followed in her wake. He boarded her vessel; but, without speaking to her or looking at her, seated himself at the prow and leaned his head upon his hands. For three days he remained in the same posture and the same silence, till they reached Cape Taenaron, when Cleopatra's women persuaded him to see her. Thence they set sail for Africa.

His fleet defended itself for a long time; about the tenth hour the report spread on the vessels that Antony was fleeing. Up to that time they had lost only five thousand men. But their line was broken, many of the galleys had their oars shattered, and the roughness of a head-sea, dashing against their bows, made it impossible to steer them; three hundred of them surrendered. The

land army was intact. The soldiers refused to believe in the baseness of their leader, and for seven days held out against the solicitations of Caesar's envoys; but Canidius, who was in command, having in his turn abandoned them, they gave in their submission to the victor.

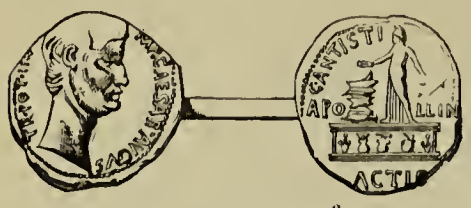
On the shore, opposite the scene of the action, stood a modest temple of Apollo; here Octavius consecrated as trophies eight vessels of all classes, and the bronze figures of a peasant and his ass that he had met on his road before the battle. The man was

MAP OF THE GULF OF AMBRACIA FOR THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

called Eutyches, the Fortunate, and the beast, Nicon, the Victorious. In this chance occurrence Octavius had seen a presage of victory; and the greatest sceptic among the Romans would have done the same. He founded Actian games, which were to be celebrated every four years, competitions in music and poetry, naval tournaments, horse-races, and contests of athletes. Greece adopted them, and the Actian games became the fifth of her great national festivals.[1] On the other side of the Straits, at the spot where he had camped, he laid the foundations of Nicopolis, the city of victory, upon an isthmus washed by the waters of the

[1] The four others were the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemaean games. [In after days the Aetian ranked next to the Olympian. — *Ed.*]

Gulf of Ambracia and of the Ionian Sea. A double memory of clemency and triumph was connected with the origin of the new city. The victor of Philippi had been pitiless. Now that war had decimated the generation which had seen and loved the Republic of Cicero, the victor of Actium thought he might be indulgent.[1] Among the important prisoners not one who asked for his life was refused. Formerly the party leader had avenged himself; now the master pardoned. A son of Curio was put to death, however; the memory of his father, the tribune who had been so useful to Caesar, should have been a protection to him in the eyes of the dictator's heir.



APOLLO ACTIUS.[2]

Among those who persist in not understanding that the Roman oligarchy, adorned with the fine name of Republic, was unworthy to retain power, Brutus and Cato still find partisans; but Antony has none. It is because he represents no idea, no principle; his victory would have ended nothing and begun nothing.

If the leader of the Antonians was no longer to be feared, the soldiers both of victor and vanquished now became formidable. Octavius hastened to grant discharges to the veterans and disperse them through Italy and the provinces whence they had come. He had left Maecenas at Rome, and he now sent Agrippa thither also, that these two able men might, with their combined qualities of prudence and courage, stifle any movement of revolt at its beginning. He himself undertook the duty of pursuing his rival. In passing through Greece he was witness of the sad state of that province, ruined by Antony. "I have heard my great-grandfather relate," says Plutarch, "that the inhabitants of Cheronaea had been forced to carry corn upon their shoulders as far as the Sea of Anticyra, urged on with lashes by the triumvir's soldiers. They had already

[1] *Victoria fuit clementissima* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 86). Yet he obliged a father and son to draw lots which should be put to death (Dion, li. 2). This fact allows us to infer others; but there were not the great massacres which usually took place.

[2] Head of Augustus; TR. POT. IIX.; eighth tribunitian power (22 B.C.). On the reverse, Apollo making a libation upon a rustic altar, and holding the lyre in his left hand. The stage on which he stands is decorated with anchors and beaks of ships. Coin of Antistius Vetus (Cohen, *Antis.* 12).

made one journey, and were under orders to bear a second load, when word came of Antony's defeat;" this news saved the town. Octavius took compassion on the misfortunes of Greece, and what remained of the provisions collected for the war was distributed by his orders among those cities which had neither money, nor slaves, nor beasts of burden left. Thence he set sail for Asia, making terms with the cities and princes in alliance with his foe, some escaping with the loss of their privileges, others with the payment of a war-contribution, or by giving up what they had intended for Antony. Not knowing whither the latter had fled, Octavius halted at Samos and passed the winter there.

The news of the disturbances which he had foreseen as likely to break out among the disbanded legionaries, recalled him to Italy. At the beginning of the year 30 he landed at Brundusium, whither senators, knights, magistrates, and even some of the people, hastened to meet him; the veterans, carried away by the general enthusiasm, swelled the procession. Octavius had reason to be satisfied with this test of his power, and with this proof of the adulation and servility of the Romans. As he lacked funds to fulfil his promises to the soldiers, he put up for sale his own estates and those of his friends. None, it is true, dared bid for them; but the desired result was attained, — the veterans contented themselves with a little money till the treasures of Egypt should be open to them. We may add that those who had served longest were settled in certain towns which had shown a disposition favorable to Antony; and the inhabitants, torn from the homes of their fathers, were transported to Dyrrachium, Philippi, and other provincial cities. This measure was cruel to the Italians, but the Empire gained by it; deserted cities were re-peopled, and the fusion of races was promoted. These measures quickly calmed the public excitement; Octavius was not even obliged to go to Rome, which was already growing accustomed to see things done without her co-operation. Twenty-seven days after his arrival at Brundusium, he was able to set out again.[1] Not daring, on account of the winter, to make straight for Egypt, he had his vessels

[1] Dion, li. 4–5; Suet., *Octav.* 17; Tac., *Ann.* i. 42.

carried across the Isthmus of Corinth, and with the celerity of Caesar, landed in Asia; so that Antony at the same time heard of his departure for Italy and his return thence.

At Paraetonium, on the coast of Africa, Antony and Cleopatra had separated. The queen, in order to prevent a revolt, appeared before Alexandria with her ships wreathed with laurels, as though they were returning from a victory. But on re-entering her palace she ordered the death of all whom she suspected, replenished her treasury with the property of the victims, plundered the temples of their wealth, and in the hope of obtaining some assistance from the Medes, sent them the head of the king of Armenia, her captive. As for Antony, at first he had wandered about in the solitudes near Paraetonium like a man bereft of his senses; and on the news of the defection of Pinarius Scarpus, who commanded an army for him in those regions, he had tried to kill himself. His friends persuaded him to return to Alexandria, whither Canidius came to tell him of the fate of his legions at the Actian promontory. All the princes of Asia abandoned him; at the very gates of Egypt, Herod, the king of the Jews, betrayed his cause. Some gladiators whom he had maintained at Cyzicus remained faithful to him; they traversed the whole of Asia, and only surrendered on a false report of their master's death.[1]

All means failing her, Cleopatra began to transport her vessels and treasures across the Isthmus of Suez, in order to take refuge in far-off lands. But the Arabs plundered the first vessels in the Red Sea, and she abandoned her design. Antony and the queen then thought of fleeing to Spain, imagining that with their wealth they could easily excite that province to revolt. This scheme too was abandoned. Tired of making impracticable plans, Antony refused access to all his friends, and shut himself up in a tower which he had built on the end of a pier. "I will now live like Timon," he said. It was too late to assume the character of a philosopher: he could not even keep up the attempt; and to end as he had lived, amid orgies, he returned to Cleopatra. They founded a new society, that of "the inseparable in death." Those who belonged to it were to pass the days amid revelry, and afterwards to die

[1] A suburb of Antioch was granted to them; later on they were dispersed with the pretext of enrolling them in the legions, and were killed (Dion, li. 7).

together. Cleopatra collected all the poisons known, and studied their effects upon living persons. She also tried venomous reptiles; and decided on the asp, which she had seen produce a quiet death, whereby the features were not disturbed.

However, the pair still retained some glimmering of hope, and accordingly made their requests to the victor, — Antony, leave to retire to Athens, and live there as a private individual; Cleopatra, the succession to the crown of Egypt for her children. The same deputies bore both messages. But secretly the queen offered Octavius a sceptre, a crown, and a royal throne. He replied to this proposed treason by two letters, — the one public, ordering her to lay down her arms and her authority; the other secret, promising her pardon and the preservation of her kingdom if she drove out or killed Antony. At the same time he sent to her a freedman, who, by false promises, was to keep up her hopes and preserve for the triumph of the victor of Actium its principal ornament. Cleopatra called to mind that when a girl she had conquered Caesar, and after that, Antony; and she began to think that Octavius, younger than either of them, might possibly not be more obdurate. She was then thirty-nine, however; but her beauty had always been less seductive than her intellect and grace. The hero had foibles, the soldier had vices: both yielded to her; the statesman alone was able to remain cold and implacable.

Antony was not ashamed to ask for his life twice more; he sent his son Antyllus[1] to entreat Octavius, and gave up Turullius, the senator, one of Caesar's murderers. Octavius made no reply, but continued to advance; soon he arrived before Pelusium, which Cleopatra opened to him. As the din of arms drew near, Antony seemed to rouse himself; he made preparations for defence, hastened into Libya in the hope of seducing the soldiers whom Octavius had sent thither, and then returned to Alexandria, which his rival was already threatening. In a cavalry skirmish where he displayed his brilliant valor, he put the enemy to flight. But Cleopatra betrayed him; shut up with all her wealth in a high tower which she had built to serve as

ANTYLLUS.

[1] This Antyllus was slain after his father's death.

her tomb, she awaited the issue of affairs. Her ministers and troops appeared to co-operate in the defence of the place; but in reality Antony could only rely upon the few legionaries he had collected. He challenged Octavius to single combat. The latter smiled, and merely replied that Antony had more than one road to death open to him.

Encouraged, however, by the success of the cavalry engagement, Antony decided upon an attack by land and sea; but as soon as the Egyptian galleys came near those of Caesar, they saluted with their oars and went over to his side. On land, Antony's cavalry abandoned him, and his infantry was easily repulsed. He re-entered the town, exclaiming that he was betrayed by Cleopatra. The queen, who had taken refuge in her tower, lowered the portcullis and strengthened the doors with great beams, while she sent to Antony false tidings of her death. They had made a mutual promise that neither would survive the death of the other. Antony ordered his slave Eros to strike the mortal blow. Without replying, the slave drew his sword, struck himself, and fell dead at his master's feet. "Brave Eros," exclaimed Antony, "thou teachest me what I should do!" And taking off his cuirass, he stabbed himself in turn.

CLEOPATRA WITH DIADEM.

As soon as Cleopatra heard of her lover's death she sent word to have the body brought her in order to give it up to the victor herself as her ransom; and Antony was carried, all covered with blood, to the foot of her tower. She did not open the door, but from a window she let down ropes, and with the aid of the two women who had followed her, she drew him up. Scarcely had she laid him upon a couch, when he asked for wine, and instantly expired, — a fitting end of the man who had nought but a soldier's soul!

Meanwhile Octavius had entered Alexandria unopposed. He ordered Proculeius, one of his officers, to try to take the queen alive, and not to allow her time to light the pyre she had prepared to consume her riches if she were broken in upon in her retreat. While she was holding a parley at the door with Gallus, Proculeius, passing noiselessly through the window which had served to admit Antony, seized her, and snatched from her hand

a dagger with which she feebly tried to stab herself. At first she wished to starve herself to death; but Octavius compelled her to renounce that design by making her fear for her children; then he reassured her, and to reconcile her to life, promised her still a brilliant lot. She allowed herself to be led back to the palace, resumed the insignia of royalty, and received all the consideration due to her rank, all the while remaining under strict surveillance. Octavius himself came once to see her. On that day she surrounded herself with remembrances of Caesar, as though to shelter herself by his love against the hatred of his heir. The room was decorated with busts and statues of the dictator. The letters he had written lay near her, and she showed them to Octavius. She talked much of the glory of his father, and the power which he himself had won and she had lost; and with tears in her eyes she said: "But now, O Caesar, what do these letters of thine avail me? And yet thou livest again in thy son." All her words and gestures and attitudes were calculated to excite pity or a warmer feeling; and there was still so much fascination in her words, so much grace in her features and in her bearing, as she stood in her long mourning garments! Octavius listened in silence, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At length he rose: "Be of good courage, lady," said he; then he asked her for the list of her treasures, and went out. Cleopatra remained overwhelmed at this cold reply; the woman was vanquished as well as the queen. Soon she learned from Cornelius Dolabella, a young noble who had become friendly to her, that in three days she was to set forth for Rome. This news decided her. "No, no!" she said, gloomily; "I will not be dragged along at a triumph, — *Non triumphabor!*" The next day she was found lying dead on a golden bed, clad in her royal robes, and her two women lifeless at her feet[2] (15th of August, 30 B.C.). No one

COIN OF PROCULEIUS.[1]

[1] C. PROCVLEI L. F. and a *bipennis* (two-edged axe).

[2] Plut., *Anton.* 84–95; Dion, li. 10–14; Livy, *Frag.* exxxiii. Octavius put to death Caesarion, who was then eighteen, and who was given up to the conqueror by his tutor, to whom Cleopatra had intrusted great treasures, charging him to take Caesarion into Ethiopia or India. [The character of this son of the great Caesar, whose fate reminds us of that of Alexander the Great's sons, Alexander and Heracles, is unknown to us. From his birth, no doubt, his fate was decided. What Roman would tolerate this rival, the real blood of the great Caesar? Octavius of course assumed him to be an impostor, ascribed to the great dictator by

knew how she had killed herself; Octavius, by displaying at his triumph a statue of Cleopatra with a serpent on her arm, confirmed the report that she had caused herself to be stung by an asp which a peasant had brought her hidden beneath some figs or flowers. Egypt was reduced to a province.

For twenty years the Republic had been dead, and the Empire was not yet born. These periods, when the bases which bore the old state of society have crumbled away, and the foundations of the new have not yet emerged above a ground shaken by revolutions, are the most painful epochs in the history of humanity. Antony's death put an end to this era of transformation, and freed men's minds from the terrible burden of uncertainty. Prolonged and sincere acclamations greeted the victory of Octavius; Vergil and Horace in their graceful verse echoed the universal hope. They were right. It was Peace coming at last, to scatter round her riches for some, and well-being for many; wiser laws were to be made, purer faiths spread, the world was at length about to change.[1]

But would these beliefs and these laws bring back again the virile virtues of former days?

In the place of despoiled citizens, who had well deserved their fate, would there be produced men capable of regaining by voluntary discipline and political intelligence the rights which they had lost? Or, if liberty was to return no more, would it at least be possible to organize these multitudes — who should henceforth obey but one will, that of the Emperor — into a vigorous body, capable of long existence?

And since we are about to have an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation replacing the two evil things through which the Republic had perished, — the oligarchy, now overthrown,

an abandoned and ambitious woman. Nevertheless his fate, like that of the other princes mentioned, is deeply pathetic.—*Ed.*]

In 1830 there were found in the foundations of an old Buddhist tower on the left bank of the Indus some medals of Antony and Kanichka, King of Bactriana and of a part of India, whom Vergil mentions as an ally of the triumvir; . . . *et ultima secum Bactra vehit.* Antony had established relations with this powerful prince, the natural enemy of the Parthians on the East, as the Romans were on the West; and it was no doubt to him that Cleopatra wished to send her son. (Cf. Reinaud, *Relations de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale.*)

[1] *Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.*
VERGIL: *Ecl.* iv. 5.

and the populace, which regarded the victory of Caesar and Octavius as its triumph ?

The history of Augustus and his successors will give us the answer.

[1] Small bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2978. The cuirass and the greaves are ornamented with chiselling in relief; the helmet is surmounted by a mutilated sphinx. The weapons which this wingless genius held are gone.

GENIUS OF MARS.[1]

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ROMAN PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

I. — What was the Proper Work of the Empire?

IN Nature nothing is lost, nothing created, and everything changes according to immutable laws. In the world of history, which is that of life and liberty, everything is transformed, — slowly, when wisdom guides the nations; with violence, when passion carries them away. But lasting transformations are never the work of caprice; their sequence is always the relation between cause and effect. In this study of the causes which incessantly modify the life of nations lies the charm of history, and also its usefulness. In this volume and the one preceding it, we have seen the forces of destruction at work for a century; now that republican Rome has ended, amid frightful tumults, we shall see the forces of renovation at work. Hitherto we have been with the conquerors at Rome and in the camps of the legions; we must now go to the vanquished.[1] The Empire has come into existence; let us visit the domain bequeathed by the Republic to the Emperor.

The Senate, with its excellent views on the government of the provinces, had shown itself incapable of providing what masters owe to their subjects, — security. This will be the task of the Emperors, — of those, at least, who are worthy of their title. Before following them in this immense work, we must take a nearer view of those populations which were destined very shortly to give to Rome grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, and poets, and to the State its most illustrious leaders. As we read the tragic history of this Republic, assailed from all quarters, shaken to its foundations, at last ruined

[1] The first edition of this work was entitled, "History of the Romans and of the Nations subjected to their Sway."

and overthrown, we forget those submissive multitudes to whom the Romans, in their turn, had offered a spectacle of numberless and illustrious gladiators slaying one another in a vast arena. Now that the ancient edifice which sheltered at first so many virtues, and afterwards so many vices, had fallen, men stumbled over its ruins at every step. Under Vespasian and Trajan, and even later, it was usual to speak of the Republic, of the Senate, and of the Roman people; and in all the history of the Empire many have sought to see only the protests of liberty and the revenges of despotism. But when we remember that words last longer than the things they signify, we shall not consider these apparent regrets as serious; and we shall turn away from the sanguinary or repulsive scenes of the palace and the curia, to behold a new world by degrees arising and overspreading these ruins and these recollections.

SECURITY.[1]

The men of the future were the provincials who were to tear from Italy her ancient privileges, to propagate throughout the barbaric West the Graeco-Latin civilization, and to cause to be bestowed upon a hundred millions of men,—by emperors born at Seville, Lyons, or Leptis,—laws which are worthy to be called recorded reason. The new religion, too, was to be formed for this new state of society; the Mosaic Jehovah, the jealous and implacable ruler of a privileged race, was to be revealed by Jesus Christ as the universal God of the poor and afflicted. So

[1] Bronze figure of the time of the Emperors (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3050).

that at the very time when the Emperors were inserting into the civil law the isolating principle of individual right, Christianity was endeavoring to instil into men's hearts the uniting sentiment of fraternity, — two grand ideas of the imperial epoch which modern Europe has re-discovered beneath the ruins of the Middle Ages, and with them the obligation to unite the two and cause their final triumph in human society.

In order to measure this advance of the provinces towards an equality of rights, civilization, wealth, and later, of religion, it is well to mark clearly the point whence each started. We shall then better judge the work done by the Emperors; we shall see whether they were able to do by their institutions for the benefit of the State what Christianity, by its doctrines, did for the Church; whether, finally, to use the language of Bossuet, "a new people is about to spring up, consisting of all the nations included within the limits of the Empire."

The Empire of Rome, or, as its historians and legists said, the *Roman World*, was so vast, when Augustus became its master, that the peoples, subject or hostile, who belong to its history, represented almost all the races of men in the old world.

The Iberians, free from any admixture, were settled in the Pyrenees between the Garonne and the Upper Ebro; they had blended with Phoenicians in Baetica, and with Gauls towards the mouth of the Tagus and in Celtiberia.

The Celts occupied Britannia, Gaul (except Aquitania and part of Narbonensis), Upper Italy, the Alps, a considerable region on the right bank of the Danube, and some districts in Asia Minor (Galatia).

The Germans and the Slavs, or Sarmatae, shared the vast plain which stretches from the Northern Ocean to the Caspian Sea.

The Greek and Latin nations occupied the centre of the Empire: the former looking Eastward, as though they still obeyed the impulse given by Alexander; the latter, towards the West, where they spread the manners and speech of Rome.

On the south, Semite races covered all the African shore of the Mediterranean, under the name of Moors, Numidians, and Phoenicians. In Egypt they had mingled with the Ethiopian race, as in Armenia with the Aryan. All the Arabian peninsula, with Palestine, belonged to them. In Syria they were partly Hellenized.

Beyond them dwelt the tribes of the Zend, and still farther, those of the Sanskrit, or Hindoo races, and in the extreme East, the Seres.

All these nations, except the two last, were, or were about to become, the subjects, the enemies, or the allies of the Empire. The Germans had already commenced that war which was to last for four centuries; the Parthians still kept the standards of Crassus; a little later, India sent deputies to Augustus; under the Antonines the Seres were to see Roman merchants arrive in their country, and the historians of Serica recognized the existence in the world of but two empires, — the Middle Kingdom and the Kingdom of the West.[1]

We have nothing to tell of the Seres or the Hindoos. With the former the Empire had only a few very slight communications, which have left no trace behind: with the latter its commercial relations were certainly very active; but of these the ancient writers, who did not concern themselves about social economy, have preserved no records. The same reasons do not apply to the Parthians and Germans, who are to occupy so important a place in this History. But it is the state of the Roman provinces with which we shall be particularly occupied; for in order to appreciate the results of the foundation of the Empire, it is important to show that from the fierce, free Cantabrian in his mountains, to the Greek of Antioch or of Ephesus, servile and effeminate, there existed among those nations all the degrees through which men pass, from the rudest barbarism to the most refined civilization, together with a very great diversity of language, customs, and character.

It was necessary, however, that these nations should be drawn together, in order to give them, by union, the strength to resist the Northern races till the Empire should have finished its work. Across

[1] It is worthy of remark that in the half century preceding the Christian era almost the whole of the old world was divided among four or five great political organizations. To the south, Vikramaditya had united the greater part of the Indian peninsula; on the east the Chinese Empire, under the Han dynasty, had compelled the chiefs of the tribes of inner Asia to recognize its supremacy, and even the princes of Transoxiana often did homage to it. The whole West was occupied by the Roman Empire; in the centre, between the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean, the Parthian monarchy held sway; and finally, beyond that, in Bactriana and the Valley of the Indus, there reigned powerful princes, whom we shall see entering into relations with the Romans. In order to avoid unduly extending this work, I abridge these chapters on the provinces and suppress a quantity of notes, which may be found, if required, in the volume which I published in 1853 under the title, *État du monde romain au temps de la fondation de l'empire*, or in the preceding editions of my *Histoire des Romains*.

the Rhine and the Danube came the dull roar of those threatening hordes whom the Cimbri and Suevi had taught the road to the lands of sunshine, of wine, and of gold. With one hand the Empire held them back, while with the other it covered with roads, aqueducts, and flourishing cities, the provinces whence for two centuries and a half it kept away war; it saturated them with its language and spirit, its laws and religion. And when the dike gave way, the invading flood encountered so many obstacles that it could not sweep everything before it. The old civilization, — our own, that is to say, — after having reigned over a hundred millions of men, after having rooted itself by its beliefs in the heart of the nations, as by its monuments in the soil which bore them, yet required ten centuries to emerge from beneath the ruins. What would it have been had the invasion found only barbarism before it, save at Athens, Rome, and Alexandria? When these three centres of light and warmth had been extinguished, what a gloomy night would have brooded over the world!

ETHIOPIAN CHILD.[1]

II. — Provinces of the West and North.

Spain. — Two great races had peopled Spain, — the Iberi and the Celts. The latter, coming last, had occupied all the North and West, except the Basque country; the former, the South and East. In the centre, the two had mingled; and this blending of races had been of advantage to the tribes which sprang from it. The Celtiberi are the heroes of ancient Spain. Settled on the lofty plateau whence descend the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, they commanded the passsage from one to the other slope of the

[1] Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 35.

peninsula; and as they held out against Rome for three quarters of a century, for those seventy years the independence of Spain was preserved. Numantia was one of their cities. At the foot of the Celtiberian mountains the civilization brought by the Greeks to the shores of Catalonia and Valentia, and by the Carthaginians to those of Murcia and Andalusia, made a long halt. The southern Iberi had yielded to the influence of the foreign colonies, which by degrees softened their manners and mitigated their ferocity. The Turduli and Turdetani proudly displayed volumes of history, poems, and laws written in verse, they said, six thousand years before.[1] But the Romans, disdainful of this literature which did not possess the merit of originating on the banks of the Ilissus or the Maeander, accused these pacific tastes of impairing Iberian courage: *Turdetani . . . maxime imbelles.* Empires fall, religions change, nations are transformed; and still certain customs last throughout the centuries. Strabo saw on the heads of the women of Baetica the light scarf which at this day adds such grace to the daughters of Andalusia.

Baetica, on the south of the Sierra Morena (*Castulonensis saltus*), contained many towns, and accepted Roman manners as easily as it had adopted those of the Phoenician colonists. Under the peace of the Empire it was about to turn to profit the wealth of a land richly endowed by Nature with a delicious climate, a fertile soil, and mines which were apparently inexhaustible, those of Ilipa and Sisapo (Almaden) at that time holding the chief rank.

COIN OF ILIPA.[2]

The Roman influence even gained the warlike Celtiberians, though slowly, for they had no large towns through which new customs could be propagated in the country; and the ancient manners easily retained their hold in the numerous villages hidden among

[1] Strabo testifies to the immense commerce which Spain carried on, in his time, with Italy. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 4; iv. 34) extols its breed of horses; and it was said that on the banks of the Tagus the wind fertilized the mares (*Ibid.* viii. 42). Strabo adds that these horses were as swift as those of the Parthians. Being improved, in the seventh century of our era, by an admixture of Arab blood, this breed gave rise in the fourteenth century to the English breed.

[2] ILIPENSE: a fish, and above it a crescent.

the mountains. They were skilled in forging arms, and still more so in using them; and as they could no longer bear them in their own cause, they enlisted beneath the standards of Rome. Beyond these nations were Celtic tribes who unwillingly followed the new way. The people of Lusitania (Portugal), always so eager for war, had been condemned to tranquillity; Augustus shortly brought them under Roman civilization.

To the north of Lusitania the Gallaïci had been early civilized by their commercial relations with the Carthaginians, who came among them in search of the produce of their fisheries and of the gold which was obtained almost on the surface of the ground. And yet at sight of the peasant on the banks of the Minho, who guided the plough with one hand, holding his javelin in the other, it was easy to recognize the warlike race from which he sprang. The Vascones, too, settled on one of the high roads from Spain into Gaul, mixed commerce and warfare. Phoenician coins found in their territory testify that the indefatigable sailors of Tyre and Gades had discovered and worked their mines. But on the narrow and dangerous coast of the Gulf of Gascony, in the rugged mountains of Biscay, two nations had hitherto refused the yoke beneath which the whole of Spain had bowed its neck: these were the Cantabri, who slew their old men when too feeble to hold a sword, and delighted in drinking horses' blood; and the Astures, who painted their faces, like the North American Indians, to make themselves more terrible, and wore no clothes except the skins of wild beasts which they had killed. When captured, they never resigned themselves to servitude. Nailed to the cross, they sang amid their death-pangs, and the women killed their children to save them from slavery.

Spain had long been a mine for Roman magistrates to work. These greedy praetors maintained, however, a state of order by which commerce greatly profited; and some of them did themselves honor by useful works. We have spoken of the places founded by Scipio (Italica), Marcellus (Corduba), Sempronius Gracchus (Gracchuris), Brutus (Valentia), and Pompey; and the latter had freely distributed the right of Roman citizenship among the inhabitants. At the mouth of the Baetis, a Caepio had built a fine tower, on the model of the Pharos of Alexandria, to mark the entrance to the river, which ships could ascend for a distance of

twelve hundred stadia between banks lined with populous cities. Caesar, whose fame Spain, after long resistance, had at last espoused, had assembled round him deputies from the whole peninsula, established a well-organized administration, and rewarded towns and individuals for their devotion to his cause; in the case of the former, increasing the number of municipia and colonies, and giving to the latter the citizenship, the gold ring of the equestrian order, and the senatorial laticlave. Many towns had taken his name; and Gades, which claimed to preserve in its temple the bones of Hercules, — Gades, the wealthiest of provincial cities, since it reckoned no less than five hundred knights, — had obtained for all its inhabitants the coveted privileges of Roman citizens. One of them, named C. Balbus, had shortly afterwards become consul. He was the first provincial to attain this honor, and also the first who ever ascended to the Capitol in a triumphal robe. Other Spaniards even dared to write in the language of their masters; and Corduba had already given birth to a whole family of poets, whose verses had gone as far as Rome, exciting the displeasure of Cicero at this provincial invasion.

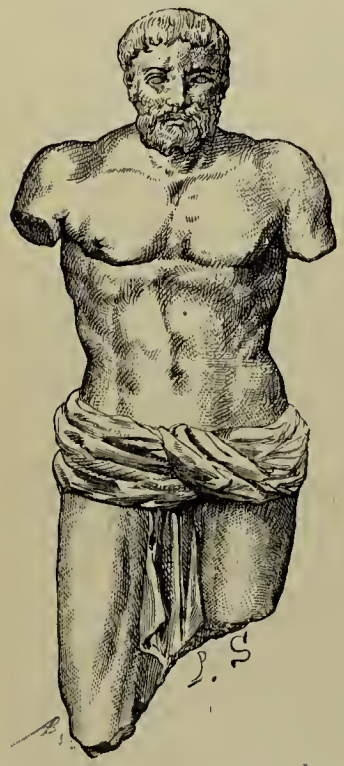
COIN OF GADES.

Thus, through its southern and eastern populations, Spain was rapidly taking part in Roman civilization and the imperial unity; Octavius regulated this movement and extended it to the centre and north of the peninsula, which long resisted the influence. After the battle of Munda, Sextus Pompeius, hidden in the mountains, had lived there some time by brigandage; then, as his band increased, he had proudly resumed his name and defeated two of Caesar's lieutenants. His recall, instigated by Antony, had restored to Spain a peace which was soon broken by the Moorish kings Bogud and Bocchus, who in the names of the two triumvirs fought out their private quarrels. Bogud was expelled; but the Ceretani, his allies, held out for a long time, and their subjection won a triumph for Domitius Calvinus. The two successors of that general obtained the same honor; but it is not known of what services it was the reward.

A province whence so many triumph-winners returned, was not a quiet country; accordingly, it was among the first to receive the attention of Octavius. There at least he was not obliged, as in Gaul, to contend against a powerful clergy and strongly rooted

doctrines. In strange contrast with that exaggerated devoutness which we are accustomed to consider the fundamental trait of the Spanish character, the religious sentiment was so little developed among the greater part of these tribes that Strabo went so far as to doubt whether they had any gods. But it is true that if we look carefully into the history of Spain we shall see that religion has there always been a form of patriotism.

Gaul. — On the north of the Pyrenees, the Iberi peopled Aquitania, which, feeling the influence of Narbo and Tolosa, two centres of Roman civilization, and of Bordeaux, which shortly became so, soon began to exchange its thatched huts for showy villas. On the east Aquitania was adjacent to Gallia Narbonensis, where Rome and Marseilles had worked in concert to obliterate among the indigenous population the traces of their double origin, Iberian and Celtic, — Rome by her great settlements of Aquae Sextiae and Narbo; Massilia by the trading posts lining the coast, and by schools which led young Romans to neglect the voyage to Athens. At Marseilles, says Tacitus, "the elegance of the Greeks is happily blended with the austerity of provincial manners." A grandson of Augustus, Lucius Caesar, and Agricola were educated in its schools; while Narbo, which Strabo calls the seaport of all Gaul, had already given birth to an epic poet, Varro Atacinus, and the Vocontian Trogus Pompeius was at this time writing or preparing his great Universal History.



FRAGMENT OF A STATUE FOUND IN GALLIA NARBONENSIS.[1]

Regarded as the outpost of Italy and the guardian of communication with Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, even before Caesar's time, was considered one of the most important possessions of the Republic. Since the conquest of Celtica, the security enjoyed on the banks of the Rhone, and the vicinity of a new province to prey

[1] Small mutilated statue preserved in the Museum of Toulouse, representing an old African fisherman. It was found at Martres (Haute-Garonne). (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 880, No. 2248.)

upon, had attracted the crowd of speculators into Gallia Togata. Thus it soon became the garden, so to speak, of Italy, and every wealthy Roman was anxious to have lands there.

It has been customary to exaggerate the docility of the Gauls in accepting the yoke, contrasting with their facile submission the Spanish resolution. Eight years, it is said, had sufficed to lay Gaul at Caesar's feet. But the Iberi had prolonged the war by dividing it; they had fought, not one battle, but a thousand skirmishes. Gaul, which had risen as a whole, had also been overthrown as a whole. The two nations already displayed the two characteristics, — the one of isolation, the other of ready association, — which they drew from their native soil and have always retained. Also we may throw into the balance the sword of the conqueror: Spain had not to defend itself against Caesar.

By passing under the Roman sway the Gauls had lost little and gained much. To an existence continually disturbed by the ambition of the chiefs of clans, to a religion of terror maintained by the Druids, to ceaselessly renewed wars among the tribes and the perpetual threat of Germanic invasions, had succeeded the calm life of well-regulated communities, a mild religion, the security of the frontiers, and everywhere the Roman Peace, — *Pax Romana*, — which soon obliterated all regret for lost independence. Caesar had employed against them a weapon which the proconsuls very rarely used: after the victory he showed himself merciful and kind; and accordingly Gallia Comata gave him the bravest of her children, her Rutenian archers, her light foot-soldiers of Aquitania and Arvernia, her heavy infantry of Belgica, and her bold horsemen, of whom thirty had been enough to put to flight two thousand Numidians, and four hundred appeared to Cleopatra and to Herod to be equal to an army. And while they were fighting for the dictator in Greece, in Africa, and in Spain, their fathers and brothers tilled the ground and traded with that ardor for peaceful labors which always bursts forth at the close of long wars. "That Gaul," says Antony, "which once sent us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, is now subdued, and is as well cultivated in every part as Italy itself. Her rivers are covered with vessels, not only the Rhone and the Saône, but the Meuse, the Loire, the

Rhine itself, and the ocean." Antony, or rather Dion, who composed this speech, no doubt says too much; but it is certain that the transformation which was about to make Gaul the wealthiest province of the Empire had already begun.

This fruitful activity and the prosperity consequent upon it were the result of Rome's obliviousness of her conquest. Questions of too great importance were in agitation elsewhere for Gaul to be called upon for anything save to furnish her contingent and her tribute. First making part of Antony's share, she was scarcely aware of the treachery of Calenus, which delivered her to the other triumvir. But when the treaty of Misenum had given Octavius a short respite, the new master of the Gauls was desirous of making these provinces feel Rome's influence more nearly; for already he was abandoning the triumviral career of violence to enter upon that which was to be the great business of his life, — the re-organization of the Empire. Forthwith war broke out in all directions; the whole of Aquitania rose in arms, and the Germans, secretly summoned by the Belgae, crossed the Rhine. Fortunately Agrippa was there. He defeated the rebels; and making a resource of what seemed a peril, he settled two Germanic tribes, the Ubii and the Tongri, implacable enemies of the Suevi and Catti, on the left bank of the Rhine, near Cologne, to guard the passage of the river, re-people the country left desert by the destruction of the Eburones, separate the Belgae from the Germans, and create between these two nations, who too frequently called out each other, a colony on which Rome could rely (37 B.C.). But the war had already recommenced in Italy, and Octavius recalled his able general to help him to conquer Sextus, and afterwards Antony. Meanwhile the Gauls, like other provincials of the West, preserved, under cover of Rome's troubles, a kind of half liberty, and with it the Druidic beliefs and the national language and manners, which nothing had as yet seriously shaken.

Mountaineers of the Alps. — On the west the Roman possessions were, then, clearly defined: the Atlantic was their boundary. On the north the line would be less easy to trace. The Alps do not enclose Italy alone; the mountains of Illyria and the Haemus, which bound Greece and Thrace on the north, are an eastern extension of this chain. During the last century of the Republic

many Roman armies had crossed this lofty barrier into Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia, but without success; for it was evident that there would be no lasting conquest in the Valley of the Danube until the mountaineers could no longer suddenly close the passes. Now this great chain protecting the civilized world, whence also the barbaric world could be threatened, had not as yet been occupied by the legions of Rome.

While in the Western Alps the roads were almost free, in the Pennine Alps they could be used only on payment of heavy tolls and at the risk of serious dangers. After the rough lesson which he had given the Helvetii, Caesar had sent the remnant of that nation back to its cantons, that the approaches to the High Alps might be guarded against the Germans by tribes henceforward faithful. In order to complete the investment of these mountains, he had been desirous also of subduing the upper portion of the Rhone Valley, which would have carried the bounds of his province to the very summit of the Alps and the passes giving access to Cisalpine Gaul. But his lieutenant, Galba, had been obliged to retreat before a rising of all the tribes of Valais. Even on the Italian slope, in the basin of the Duria, the Salassi would allow no approach to their gold mines; they had quite recently made the soldiers of Decimus Brutus pay a drachma a head for a passage through their mountains. Cottius and his fourteen tribes were independent in the valleys of Mont Cenis, the Ligurians in those of the Maritime Alps, and the mountaineers of the Apennine Liguria still inspired fear enough to made it impossible to include them in Cisalpine Gaul. "Every year," says Strabo, "a governor of the equestrian order is sent to them, as is done with respect to other nations absolutely barbarous."

GOLD COIN OF THE SALASSI.[1]

The tribes of the Rhaetian Alps were still less tractable and more hardy. Their bands, especially those of the Rhaeti and Vindelici, suddenly coming down through the upper valleys of the Adige and Adda, laid waste the lowlands; they even attacked the cities, slaying the inhabitants, both men and women. These savage incursions, which resemble the devastations of Indians in the New

[1] This coin represents the instruments used for washing gold, — the source of wealth of the Salassi.

World, were a disgrace to Italy. But antiquity did not esteem very highly the security which we so much prize. The governors troubled themselves little about anything that was not serious warfare, and the preservation of public order throughout the Empire was their least care. Against such dangers cities, like individuals, must know how to defend themselves; Rome left to both just sufficient liberty of action to excuse herself from any necessity of watching and acting in their place. Even under Augustus the Corsicans and Sardinians ceaselessly plundered the coasts of Tuscany and Liguria. Strabo says of Ortonium, a town of the Frentani: "It is a rock inhabited by robbers, who live like wild beasts, and build their houses with no other material than fragments of wrecked vessels." The Island of Lade, opposite Miletus, was the usual resort of the pirates who swept the Aegean Sea; Dalmatia was long notorious for its brigands, and the Taurus has been so always.

To the east, where the Alpine chain is lower, the roads became less difficult. They led directly into the Valley of the Danube. The Republic had a great interest in watching over these regions through which the Cimbri had come, and where there surged a confused mass of warlike tribes, whose vicinity kept up the spirit of resistance among the Illyrians and Dalmatians. But the Senate had long forgotten that far-sighted policy which formerly led them to keep watch in that direction. They allowed the Norici and Taurisci to join the Rhaeti in their raids, and the Carni to ravage the Valley of the Tagliamento. Two Roman colonies, Aquileia and Tergeste, had been established, however, on this coast. But the territory of the one was continually devastated, and the other had just been pillaged by the Iapodes, a brave, fierce nation established in the Julian Alps, whence they kept all their neighbors in terror; twice in twenty years had they repulsed the Roman troops. A little farther on, the Pannonians had so handled a general who ventured amongst them that all Italy had been terrified at the disaster. From that day no consul had dared to cross their frontier.

In Illyria the situation was no better.[1] The Illyrians had been the first people attacked by the Republic outside Italy, and

[1] Illyria seems to have formed a province distinct from Macedonia from the year 118; it was separated from Cisalpine Gaul by the little River Formio (the Risamo, to the south of Trieste).

they had not yet resigned themselves to remain docile subjects of Rome; they could therefore dispute with the Spaniards the merit of a prolonged resistance. In spite of the nearness of Greece and Italy, civilization had obtained little hold upon these barbarians,

DISK OF AQUILEIA.[1]

who tattooed themselves like the Picts and Thracians, were ignorant of the use of money, and every eight years made a fresh division of the land. To free the Adriatic from their piracies, the most

[1] Museum of Vienna (published by the *Annali dell' Inst. arch.* 1839, xi. 78). This silver disk, with gold added, which has almost disappeared, shows Proserpine restored to her heavenly family: above, Jupiter; between the sky and earth, Ceres, holding a lighted torch, a symbol of the life she rekindles in Nature; Proserpine, crowned with ears of corn, looking at her mother, whom she has just found again; Hecate (?), who has helped her to escape from Hades, leans upon her shoulder; in the centre, Triptolemus, who is about to bear forth through all the earth the gifts of Ceres; behind him the chariot of the goddess drawn by two serpents, which are fed by two virgins, daughters of Celeus, the father of Triptolemus, and the olive-tree, beneath the shade of which Ceres rested near Eleusis. Lastly, in the lower part, Mother Earth with an ox, the great means of agriculture.

turbulent among them had been sent away from the coast; and driven back into the mountains, they had there kept their love of independence. Gabinius, one of Caesar's lieutenants, endeavored to make a circuit of the Adriatic with fifteen cohorts and three thousand horse. The Illyrians attacked him, and of all this army the leader was almost the only one who escaped. Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda intimidated them, however; their deputies appeared at Rome before Caesar, loudly vaunted their race and their exploits, and asked for the friendship of the Roman people. The dictator exacted a tribute and hostages. They promised them; but upon Caesar's death they refused everything; and when Vatinius threatened them with three legions and a considerable force of cavalry, they cut to pieces five of his cohorts and drove him back in disorder upon Epidamnus.

Such, therefore, was the state of the northern frontier at the time when the Republic was drawing to an end. All the Alpine chain was held by plundering tribes, not very dangerous, certainly, but harassing, which stopped civilization at the foot of their mountains. Though they bordered upon the sacred soil of Italy, no formal expedition had been directed against them; no man was desirous of undertaking these obscure wars, in which neither fame nor spoil was to be won.

Octavius thought of doing it; some time before the battle of Actium he had undertaken the task of reducing these mountaineers to subjection. It had cost him nearly two years of personal fatigues and dangers. Twice he had run the risk of his life, and had received honorable wounds; for he had determined to search out, one after another, all the lairs of these bandits, to destroy their strongholds, to require them to give hostages, and finally reduce them to quiet. The Dalmatians had given up the standards of Gabinius, and the Liburni the vessels which served them for cruising. The Salassi had obliged him to treat with them; but the Iapodes had been subdued, the Carni and Taurisci punished, and even Pannonia invaded, notwithstanding her hundred thousand warriors. The strong city of Segesta, on the Save, being carried by assault, was occupied by twenty-five cohorts as an outpost against German and Dacian barbarism. As all eyes were at that time fixed upon Rome and Alexandria, these expeditions had passed

unnoticed. Yet in these wars Octavius began what Augustus was to complete; he took possession of the Alpine chain, and in order to guard it better he advanced as far as the Danube.

III. — Countries Speaking the Greek Language.

Macedonia and Greece. — If the eastern peninsula has its Alps in Mount Haemus (the Balkan range), it has its Apennines in Pindus, a broad wall running straight to the south, which allows but a few footpaths across its summit, and at one point only, Klissoura, in the neighborhood of Lychnidus, a road easily practicable. Dalmatia and Epirus are on the west upon the slope leading down to the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thessaly on the east, towards the Aegean Sea. At its southern extremity this chain breaks up into many branches, sending out countless headlands into three seas, and forming the chaos of mountains and valleys which is called Greece.

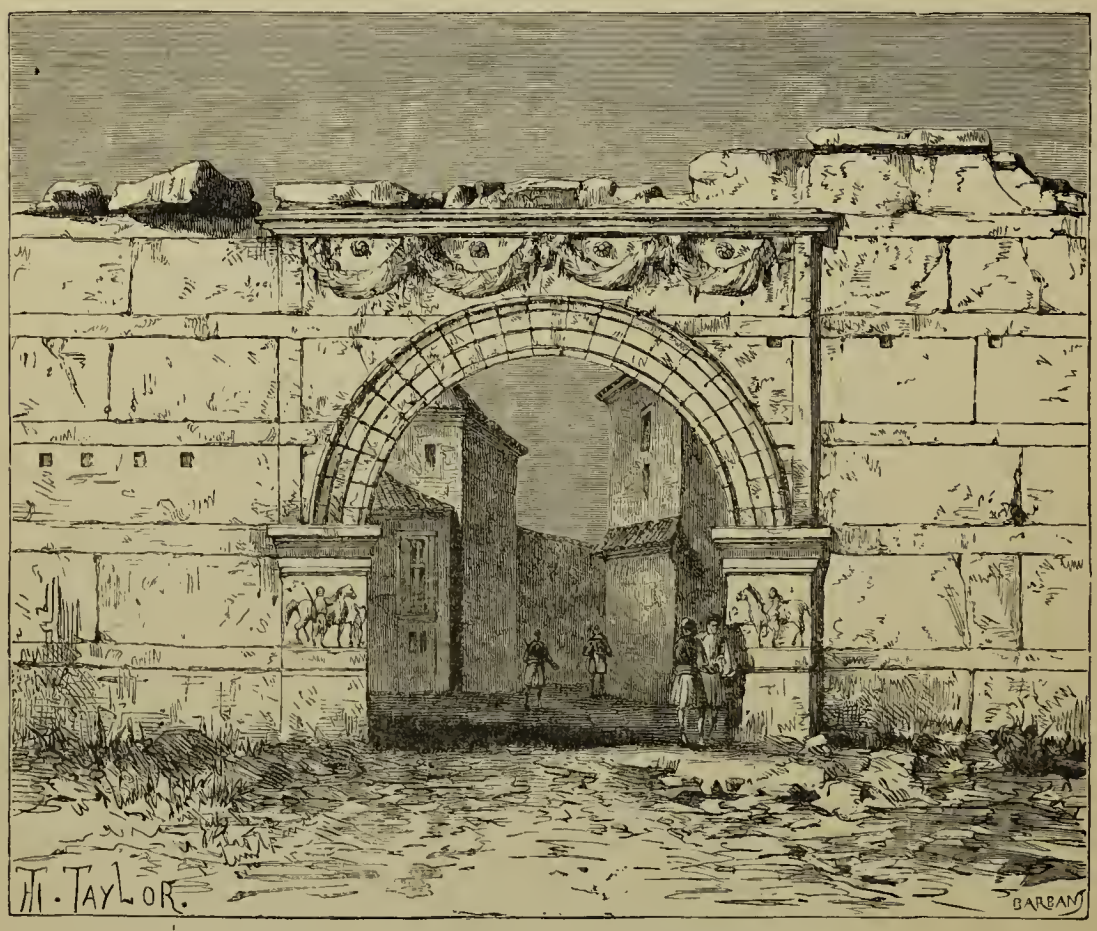
Enclosed in its quadrilateral of mountains, Macedonia was the fortress whence Rome kept watch upon and restrained, not Greece, where there were no peoples left to restrain, but the tumultuous tribes on the Danube, who were ever ready to resume the route of the Gallic brenn towards Delphi. Many generals had returned from that province to receive a triumph for obscure victories over these unpleasant neighbors. As soon as the hand of Rome ceased to press upon them, they flocked back again, plundering and slaying. On the eve of the foundation of the Empire, the Thracians had descended upon Macedonia, cut the great military road which traversed the province, and spread such terror as far as Thessalonica that the inhabitants had begun to build their walls again as though the sword of Rome no longer protected them. Yet these barbarians had a poetic custom which we have followed, — they scattered roses upon the earth which covered their dead.

COIN OF THESSALONICA.[1]

[1] ΚΑΒΙΡΟC; Cabirus standing. Reverse of a bronze coin of Thessalonica.

The strict order which Octavius had begun to keep in Illyria was of advantage to Macedonia. To the north, the Dardanians, formerly very much dreaded in the Valley of the Axios (Vardar), were reduced to such a state of destitution that their only dwellings were huts dug out beneath dung-heaps. On the east, the Thracians were in reality formidable only so long as they were feared. Macedonia could thus,

COIN OF AMPHIPOLIS.[1]



GATEWAY OF THE VARDAR AT THESSALONICA.[2]

as soon as a firm hand should maintain order, develop her riches. After Caesar's death, her warlike population had given Brutus two legions, which he trained in the Roman tactics. Before the battle,

[1] Head of Apollo, with laurels. On the reverse, AMΦIΠOΛITΩN, a torch, and a branch in a hollow square. Silver coin of Amphipolis.

[2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 22 *bis*.

of Philippi, which was fought on her frontier, she had been obliged to maintain the armies of Octavius and Antony. It does not seem, however, that the country was severely treated by the victors. Thessalonica was already the chief town, and Amphipolis the second, and they both bore the title of free cities; which privilege was also granted to Dyrrachium, to Abdera, to several tribes in the interior, and to the islands of Thasos and Samothrace. But Pella, the early capital, soon sank into a mere village.

"Formerly," says Strabo, "Epirus was occupied by a great number of valiant nations; at present the greater part of its cantons are deserted, and its towns destroyed. There remain only villages and hovels; and this desolation, which was begun long ago, still continues." Varro finds something to praise in it, however. "The slaves of Epirus," he says, "are the best and the most costly," — a sad reputation indeed for the descendants of the soldiers of Pyrrhus! This country, covered with mountains which run to the very shore, has none of those rich plains surrounding a harbor which the Greek colonists loved; accordingly, but few had come to this coast. Having little wheat, the Epirotes lived in scattered villages upon the produce of their flocks. To the present day Janina still sends to Thessaly for flour, which is brought on the backs of asses or mules, while fruits and vegetables are obtained from Arta, the ancient Ambracia. There was but little life except along the Via Egnatia, which had passed through the province, and at Dyrrachium, which was Pompey's headquarters, and on that account compromised in the eyes of Caesar's friends. Apollonia, farther to the south, had profited by this, and her schools had received the young Octavius.

This depopulation of Epirus extended to Greece itself. The tribes of Mount Oeta were almost annihilated; the Athamanes, their neighbors, had quite disappeared. Acarnania and Aetolia, which are separated by the Acheloüs, had become deserts. Instead of cultivated fields, there were only, as in Arcadia, pasture-lands, over which cattle and horses roamed wild. In spite of the fertility of its fields and the liberty for which it was indebted to Caesar, Thessaly, which had so often offered a battlefield, saw its towns fall into ruins. In Hellas, Thebes

COIN OF SAMOTHRACE.

was only a large village; and with the exception of Tanagra and Thespiae, there remained of the towns of Boeotia only ruins and their names. One town of Phocis, however, was to enjoy an envied privilege, — the oil of Tithorea was to be reserved for the table of the Emperors. Megara still existed, but in great poverty. The Piraeus, whose harbor formerly sheltered three hundred war-vessels, was now a wretched village; Munychia had been dismantled, the Long Walls thrown down, and Athens still suffered from the blows which Sylla had dealt it.

TERRA-COTTA OF TANAGRA; HERO WITH HELMET.[2]

During the Civil wars Athens had been on the side of the vanquished, as she always had been since Chaeronea; but she escaped with slight sacrifices. Like Alexander, Romans of all parties respected the City of the Muses;[1] they even allowed her to boast of having succored Rome in her perils, and to erect a tomb to the soldiers who had fallen in these imaginary expeditions, just as they allowed the Achaeans to carve beneath the statue of Polybius that if the conqueror of Car-

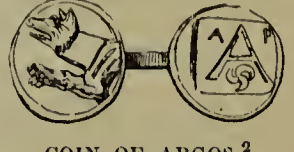
[1] Antony (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 66) and Germanicus (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 53) retained only one lictor on entering Athens, a free and federated city. Before Pharsalia, Caesar and Pompey had caused a herald to proclaim *αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν θεσμοφόρων* (App., *ibid.* ii. 70). Antony gave them Aegina, Teos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos (App., *ibid.* v. 7). They also possessed Salamis, Haliartus in Boeotia (Strabo, ix. 411), Eretria in Euboea, Delos (*id.* x. 486), where the traders had settled who were forced to quit Corinth, and where a fair was held which attracted many Romans.

[2] *Gazette archéol.*, 1878, pl. 21. S. Trivier justly remarks (*op. cit.* pl. 117 *sq.*) that representations of men are very rare among the numerous and beautiful figures of Boeotia.

thage and Numantia had been the arm which struck, the son of Lycortas was the head that guided the blow. But now and then some dissatisfied consul reminded the people of Athens, with insulting frankness, that there were no longer any Athenians in Athens; that the city contained only a mob of adventurers from all nations. Others said — and this was a graver matter — that it was no longer in the Pnyx that the beautiful language of Demosthenes and Aeschylus could be heard; that the pure idiom had been changed in the mouths of these foreigners. Accordingly, the schools of Rhodes, Marseilles and Ephesus, by their rival attractions, seriously injured the rhetoricians of Athens.

The city remained, however, the refuge of the old pagan spirit, the chief centre of Hellenism and philosophy.[1] Vainly did Saint Paul later explain to the degenerate disciples of Socrates and Plato who was the Unknown God to whom their fathers built an altar; his voice found no echo at the foot of the Parthenon. But it was more readily listened to in the new Corinth, rebuilt by Caesar and Augustus; there the Apostle won many recruits: yet fewer in number than the train who by their proverbial effeminacy gained for this city of commerce and pleasure the name of "Perfumed Corinth."

Polybius said he would not give six thousand talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Since his time its destitution had greatly increased. Many a town there was too poor even to support the expenses of official adulation. Did it become necessary to do honor to a powerful Roman, some old statue was scraped over, some hero of past times was polished up, and Orestes became Octavius. Nor was any greater expenditure incurred for the gods. At Argos the roof of the temple of Demeter fell in: to rebuild it would have been costly; therefore within the sumptuous edifice erected by their fathers the children built a temple of brick. The goddess might well be content within a humble chapel when her people had nothing but ruins to live in.



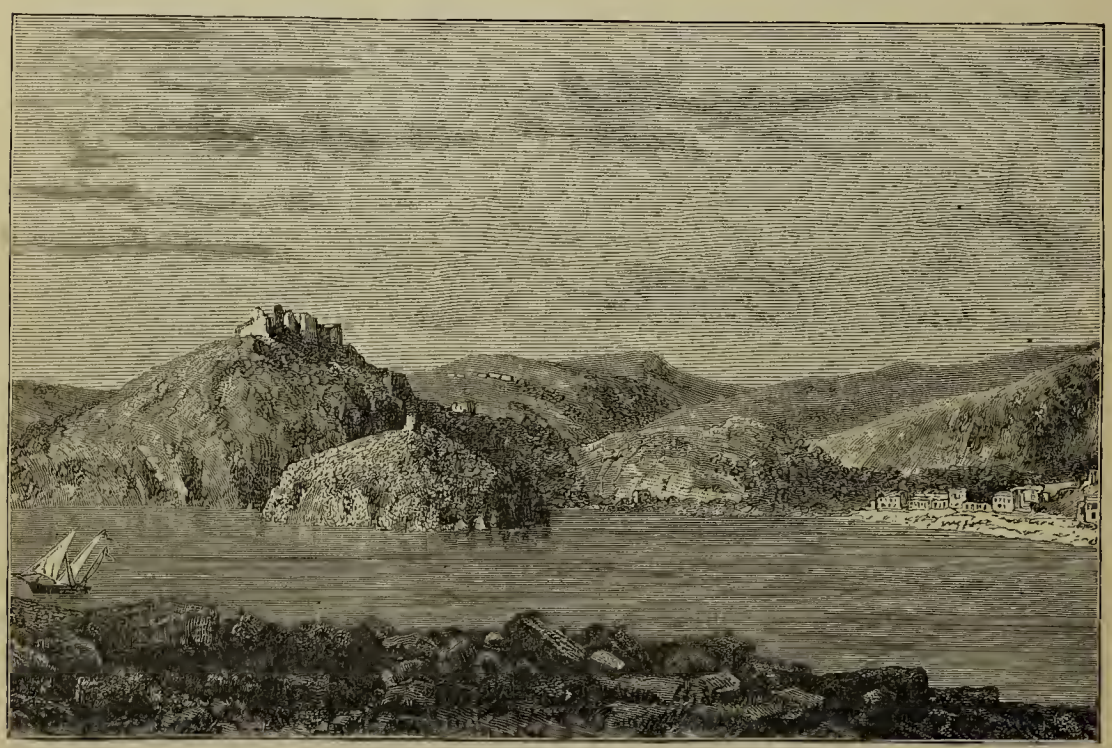
COIN OF ARGOS.[2]

[1] Pausan., I. xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 6. Josephus somewhere calls it the most religious of pagan cities, and Athenaeus Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἑστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον (v. 12; vi. 65).

[2] Head and shoulders of a wolf. On the reverse, AP (Argos), a large A, and the *triquetra* in a hollow square. Drachma of Argos.

Of the twelve towns of Achaea, five were either destroyed or deserted. "As Arcadia is wholly devastated," says Strabo, "it would be useless to give a long description of it." Tegea alone retained a little life; Octavius had just robbed it of an ivory statue of Athene and a relic of mythologic times, the tusks of the Calydonian boar. Messenia had only a very few inhabitants left, and Lacedaemon was no longer spoken of save for

COIN OF MESSENIA.[1]



CYTHERA.

its manufacture of purple, the best in Europe. What a renown for the descendants of Leonidas! Yet I should prefer it to their fierce virtue of former days, did I not see that Cythera, a former dependency of Lacedaemon, at this time belonged to a certain Eurycles, and that this possessor of a barren rock was the tyrant,

[1] Head of Ceres crowned with wheat and ΣΩ. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ (the name of the Messenians) and ΝΕΩΝ ΑΡΙ (the names of magistrates); Jupiter standing, brandishing his thunderbolt in his right hand, and in the left bearing an eagle; in front of the god, a tripod. Tetradrachm of the Messenians.

A TEMPLE AT CORINTH.

TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FOUND AT MEGARA (HEBE).

NEMESIS IN THE VATICAN.

TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FOUND AT MEGARA (APHRODITE).

as it were, of the whole of Laconia. It is true that in the land of the hundred cities there could not now have been counted, besides Sparta, thirty villages. A few years later Plutarch said: "There are not in all Greece three thousand soldiers."[1] The town of Megara alone had sent more than that to Plataea.[2] "On my return from Asia," says a Roman traveller sadly, "I sailed from Aegina towards Megara, and examined the shores stretched around me. Aegina was behind us, Megara in front, on the right the Piraeus, on the left Corinth, — cities formerly renowned, now dead beneath their ruins." "Greece," says another Roman, "is now only the great tomb of a great past."[3]

The temples were in ruins, like the cities; the Pythoness was dumb; the Amphictyonies[4] no longer met; and for the providing of games and crowns for the Olympic stadium, Greece was indebted to the charity of a king of the Jews.

With the national festivals fell the last bonds which held the Greek cities together as a nation. Octavius invited them, it is true, to his Actian games, the management of which he gave to the Lacedaemonians. But what interest could the Greeks feel in that almost barbarous Acarnania, scarcely known to them in the times of their independence, where foreign hands would now distribute the wreaths? Nevertheless, this poor discrowned queen still drapes herself proudly in her rags; through the rents in her mantle her pride is seen; she deems herself nobler than her masters, and it is a condescension that she ceases to call them barbarians.

COIN OF LACEDAEMON.[5]

Montesquieu has laid this decadence to the charge of Rome; but the Romans could not restore to decrepit Greece the fair days of her youth or the creative spirit which had given life to so

[1] [He means, of eourse, *hoplites*, — a heavy-armed infantry, whose armor was expensive. There must have been a far greater number of light-armed men.—*Ed.*]

[2] The two figurines found at Megara and given on p. 695 are taken from the *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 15.

[3] *Magnarum rerum magna sepulcra vides* (Petron., *Poet. Fragments.* Cf. Huistin, *op. laud.* p. 203.)

[4] "The Temple of Delphi is very poor," says Strabo (ix. 420), "and there is no longer any Amphietyonic Counеil." This writer was in Greeee at the very period of which we are speaking, in the year 29 B.C.

[5] AA (Lacedaemon) ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΣ; elub; the whole inclosed in a wreath. Bronze coin of Laeedaemon.

many masterpieces; their historic duty was to summon new nations to share in the harvest sown by the artists, the poets, and the philosophers of Hellas. We have seen that the ruin of Greece had begun before the arrival of the legions,[1] and that she was dying because she had carried abroad, without retaining aught of it for herself, that political and literary life which had made her greatness. Like the hierophant of Eleusis, she had given the holy torch to neophytes. They passed it from hand to hand, and the sacred road was lighted afar by its blaze; but darkness fell upon the temple, silence and solitude possessed it. In order to have something to describe in this glorious land, Strabo is compelled to people its loneliness with recollections. It is not the Greece of Augustus, but that of Homer which he sees and questions. The former no longer existed; the latter still lived in the immortal epic.

Sicily and the Greek Islands. — All the Greeks of Europe seemed at this time to be given up to the jealous divinity, that Nemesis whom the ancients believed to be angered at fortunes that rose too high, but whose wrath is only the inevitable expiation of faults committed in prosperity.[2] "Magna Graecia," exclaims Cicero, "formerly so flourishing and wealthy, and now so desolate!" "Whoever wishes to see deserts," says Seneca, "let him go into Lucania and Bruttium." So much for Italian Greece.

COIN OF PANORMUS.[3]

When Theocritus sang at Syracuse of the wise King Hiero and the calm happiness of Sicilian country scenes, the great island, freed from the Carthaginians, had not as yet been ravaged by the Roman proconsuls. But that was nearly two hundred years before; and since then Sicily had been growing poorer with every generation. The northern coast, facing Italy, was, as it still is, the most thickly peopled; Panormus, Segesta, which

[1] See vol. ii. p. 8 *sq.*

[2] We give on p. 695 the Nemesis of the Vatican, — a statue in Grecian marble found at Tivoli on the site of the Villa Hadriana (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii., pl. 13). For the explanation of the attitude of the figures of Nemesis, see above, p. 469.

[3] ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤ; head of Apollo with laurels, facing right. Silver coin of Panormus.

[NOTE. — See full-page cut opposite. This splendid gate belongs to the great circuit of walls built by Epaminondas for the new Messene, and looks north towards Arcadia. It is one of the finest extant specimens of Hellenic masonry. Mount Ithome rises to the left of the view. — *Ed.*]

THE ARCADIAN GATE AT MESSENE.

claimed relationship with Rome, and farther west Lilybaeum, held the highest rank there. With the exception of Agrigentum, which had once more risen to life, the coast on the African side was covered with old ruins dating from the Punic wars; the struggle with Sextus Pompeius had made other ruins on the east coast; the insurrection of the slaves, in the interior; and the pirates, everywhere. The mere farm of the Roman people, possessed by masters who spent in other lands the gold with which its fruitful soil supplied them, it no longer possessed a court, or princes, or rich citizens to offer to genius the sumptuous hospitality which Hiero had extended to Pindar, Simonides, Aeschylus, and Epicharmus; and the Muses were silent with terror amid this population of fierce herdsmen who preserved the formidable memory of Eunus and Athenion. "Lately," says Strabo, "while I was at Rome, a certain Silurus was brought thither, who called himself the son of Aetna. At the head of a numerous band he had long laid waste all the country round the mountains. He was exposed in the amphitheatre, during a combat of gladiators, on a high platform representing Aetna. When the combat was ended, the mountain gave way, and the son of Aetna was precipitated among the wild beasts, which tore him in pieces."

FRAGMENT DISCOVERED IN THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN DELOS.[1]

Then, as now, the traveller going from Italy to Greece stopped at Corfu and Zante, — the one a magnificent commercial and military station, the other fully deserving of the name which sailors give it, *Fiore di Levante*. I have found this island covered with flowers in the gloomiest of our winter months.

[1] This fragment, executed in good style, was discovered in the excavations made at Delos by M. Homolle. It represents the abduction of a woman (*Bulletin de corresp. Hellén.*, VIII., third year, December, 1879, pl. xi.).

From Corfu three routes led to Asia and Eastern Africa. One could go northwards as far as Dyrrachium, the head of the great Egnatian Way, which ran to Lysimachia and Byzantium; or by the Gulf of Corinth and Attica one could reach the Cyclades, scattered over the Aegean like a necklace of sea-pearls surrounding Delos, the smallest but most famous among them. Over these musical waves, which echoed the heroic names of ancient Greece, the sailor directed his course, without losing sight of land, from Delos, where Apollo and Diana were born, to Naxos and Andros, the sacred isles of Bacchus; from Paros, whose marble rivalled that of Pentelicus, to Melos (Milo), which has preserved for us the masterpiece of Greek sculpture; but he avoided the gloomy Gyaros, whose naked rocks served for the exiles of the Empire instead of those delightful abodes at Tibur and Praeneste, where men had lived who were banished during the Republic.

COIN OF ANDROS.[1]

Farther on, the great islands of the Asiatic coast, Lesbos, Chios, — wealthy enough to pay the king of Pontus a ransom of two thousand talents, — Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, where the fortunes of Mithridates had met their end, had promptly repaired their losses, and the Roman magistrates on their way to the eastern provinces willingly lingered in these fertile islands, where, beneath a delightful climate, Greek life blossomed amid seductions of every kind.[3]

COIN OF PAROS.[2]

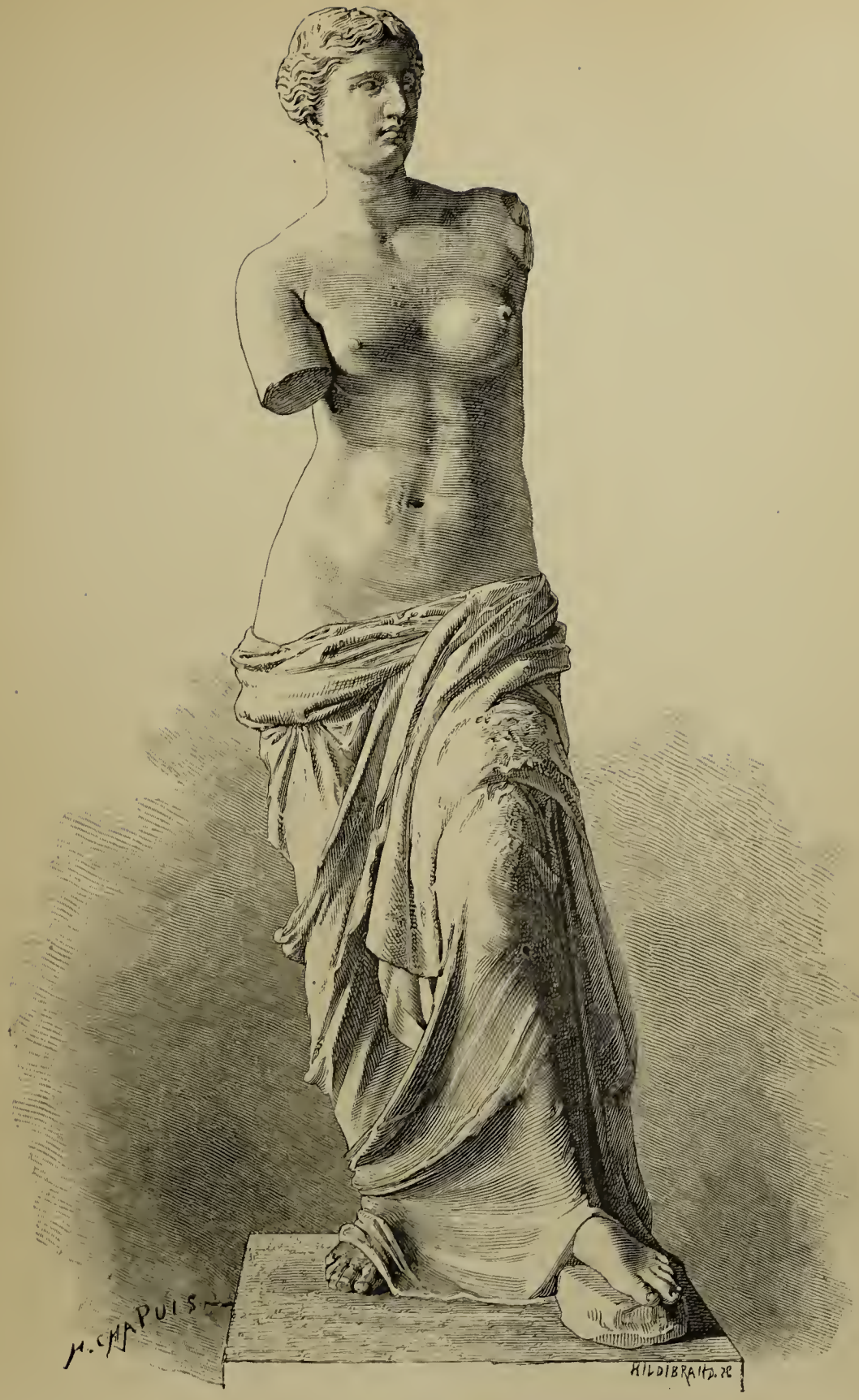
The governors of Crete, Cyrenaïca, and Egypt took a more southern route. From Cape Malea, at the extremity of the Peloponnesus, they could see the snowy summits of Crete; from that

[1] Bust of Bacchus or of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy; behind him, a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, ANΔP . . . and a panther. Silver coin of Andros.

[2] Head of a woman bound with a fillet. On the reverse, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ ΠΑΡΙ; goat standing. Silver coin of Paros.

[3] Piso, going to Syria, went from Athens to Rhodes by the islands; Germanicus from Euboea to Lesbos, and thence to Troas in order to reach the Propontis (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 53–54).

[NOTE. — Full-page cut opposite, — the Venus of Milo. This famous statue, which is among the few *originals* preserved to us, was apparently the statue set up in the temple at Melos, and was executed, not in the great Phidian days, but by Alexandros of Antioch in the third century B.C., when there was a splendid renaissance in Greek sculpture, and men went back to the great models of the best epoch. Cf. Perry's *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 600. — *Ed.*]



VENUS OF MILO.

large island they reached Cyrene in two days' sail, and Alexandria in four.

COIN OF SAMOS.[1]

By its fertility Crete had won the surname of the Isle of the Blessed; and Aristotle said of it that no position was ever more favorable for the establishment of a great empire, — a fortune which it never realized save in mythologic times, when Jupiter was born there and Minos reigned there, and it was called the Land of the Hundred Cities. Here then men have given the lie to Nature. Since the heroic age Crete had lived in the shade; we know nothing even of the rivalry of the two great cities, Gnossus and Gortyna. From the time of the Peloponnesian war it had been a haunt of pirates, and swords were to let there for all who wished to hire. The Cretans retained these habits as long as their independence lasted: their archers served in all armies, and their corsairs incurred the anger of Rome. Metellus compelled them (66) to give up their vessels, though they had bravely maintained the struggle, killed a praetor, and held out for three years. But it cost them dear. Many cities which had fallen under the heavy hand of Rome rose no more, and the richest tracts of the island were taken into the domain of the Roman people. Octavius one day, in a generous mood, soon after the defeat of Sextus, gave to Capua lands in Crete, near Gnossus, bringing in a revenue of one million two hundred thousand sesterces, and the Capuans still held these districts three centuries later.

Crete, with Cyrenaïca, formed one province. An old law of the island recognized the right of insurrection against unjust magistrates. Montesquieu approves it, "because the Cretans had," he says, "the most ardent and steady patriotism; and the love of country corrects all things." We agree with Montesquieu; but on condition of limiting this right to those small states in which a true majority is easily obtained. After having constantly exercised their right of insurrection in the time of their independence, the Cretans were very careful not to assert it while under the Roman sway. Nor were they now to be reproached with their piratical cruisers.

[1] Lion's face. Silver coin of Samos.

"The men whose maritime skill was proverbial," says Strabo, "have not a single ship."

Greek Cities of Thrace and the Euxine. — To the north of the Aegean Sea, in Thrace, Greek colonies had covered the whole coast, from the mouths of the Strymon to those of the Danube. Of so many cities what was left? "The Thracians," says Appian, "had retreated from the coasts for fear of pirates; the Greeks took possession of them, and made them prosperous in agriculture and commerce. Philip of Macedon drove the Greeks away, so that no trace of them was left but the ruins of the temples they had built." Some Greeks, however, were still found along this coast — at Abdera, a town proud of its great men, in spite of its poor reputation for wit; at Maroneia, at Aenos, on the old road leading to Asia; and finally at Cardia and Lysimacheia, which guarded the entrance to the Thracian Chersonesus, now Agrippa's property. But all these towns were in a wretched state. When Macedonia once more became a flourishing province, when the new capital of the Empire arose at the other extremity of the country, then Thrace, situated in its centre, in its turn came to possess rich and populous cities; for the present, travellers for business or pleasure alike avoided it.

COIN OF THE THRACIAN CHERSONESUS.[1]

The shores of the Propontis and its Straits were more full of life. Byzantium, occupying one of the most admirable sites in the world, at the extremity of Europe and facing Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euxine, commanded the commerce of the Black Sea, which anchored in her harbor even when it did not pass entirely into her hands. She gathered still further wealth from the productive fisheries of the Euxine, the profits of which the Romans obliged her to share with them, though they left her free. This liberty, of which they had the good sense not to show themselves jealous, freed them from the troubles of an

COIN OF BYZANTIUM.[2]

[1] XEP head of Minerva with helmet; the whole in a hollow square. Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.

[2] ΠΥ ΕΠΙ ΣΦΟΔΡΙ (name of magistrate); Neptune seated on a rock holding the trident and the *acrostolium*, or ornament which ended off the prows of vessels; in this case a statuette. Silver coin of Byzantium.

DEFILE OF HAGHIA—ROUMELI, IN CRETE.

occupation, without allowing the Byzantines an independence which they might probably abuse. The governors of Bithynia were charged to keep a watch upon them; and another check was the property which they possessed in Mysia, under the immediate power of Rome.

The commerce of the East at that time followed two routes, — the southern, by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, and the northern,

CITY GATE AT PATARA.[1]

by the River Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasian isthmus. The Arabs and the Alexandrian Greeks held the former; the Greeks of Asia Minor had taken possession of the latter. All the shores of the Black Sea were lined with Greek colonies; Miletus alone was said to have founded three hundred trading posts there, some of which had become wealthy cities; and in the Tauric Chersonesus was the flourishing kingdom of the Bosphorus. The civilized world seemed, however, to end at Byzantium; beyond that city appeared

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 225.

barbarism, the habits of savage life, tribes living by wrecking and the plunder of ships washed ashore. Thus sailors coming from the Palus Maeotis, whom fear of the storms of the Euxine compelled to keep close in along these inhospitable coasts, addressed thanksgivings to Jupiter Urius when they came in sight of his temple on the Asiatic coast, at the entrance of the Bosphorus.[1]

IV. — Provinces in Asia.

Asia Minor. — Asia Minor advances like a huge promontory between the Euxine and the Sea of Cyprus, driving back before it the waves of the Aegean. If we limit Asia Minor by a line drawn from Trapezus to the Gulf of Issos, it will form a peninsula almost equal in extent to France, and divided into two wholly distinct regions, — in the centre, a region of plateaus; surrounding it, a mountainous country; the latter covering a space double that occupied by the former.[2]

The most beautiful parts of the peninsula are in the mountainous regions of the north and south. The mountains are covered with vast forests, and at their feet stretch rich plains, where the most varied crops flourish. Here and there their sides are hollowed out into broad, deep valleys, or are cleft by the channels of rivers which fall into the Euxine or Aegean Sea. The richness of the soil is such that no artificial fertilizing is ever needed; and this part of the Turkish Empire at present exports a hundred thousand tons of grain to Europe annually. What must

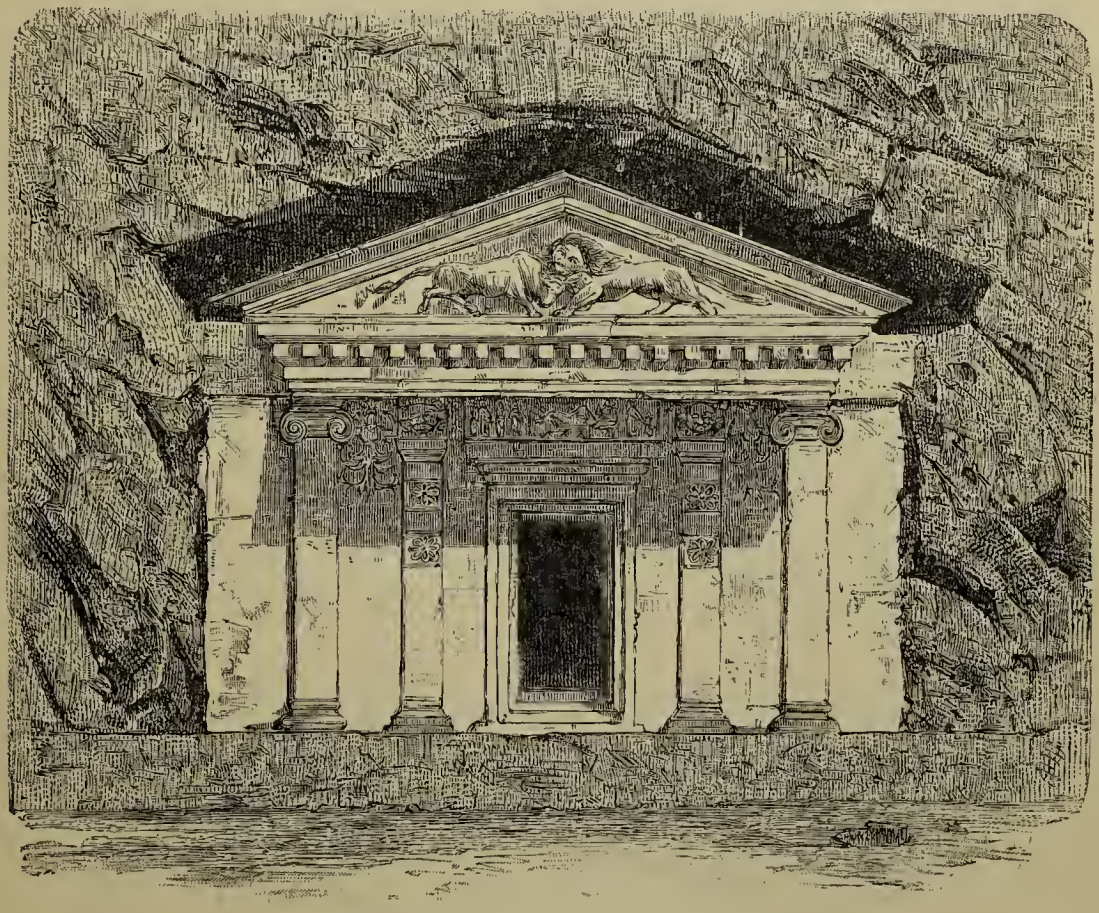
[1] [This was more on account of perils by sea than from barbarians. Dion Chrysostom about this period draws a pleasant picture of the Hellenic life still surviving round these remote coasts. — *Ed.*]

[2] The region of plateaus consists of a series of slight undulating or perfectly level plains covered with volcanic tufa and innumerable fragments of lava. Between these plains are hilly ridges, forming, as it were, so many natural barriers, yet leaving them a common conformation. There is an almost complete absence of trees, and the climate is rather severe, like that of the northeast of France or Germany, with colder winters and warmer summers. Accordingly, there are few vines, no fig or olive trees, none of the trees of Southern Europe, but many cereals and much cattle, among which are herds of those Angora goats whose fleece almost equals in beauty that of the goats of Cashmere. At Kaisaria the thermometer often falls to ten degrees Fahrenheit, at Angora to fifteen. Cf. Tchihatchef, *Voyage dans l'Asie min.*

it then have been when Asia Minor was in the hands of the active and industrious race which in ancient times had taken possession of all the coasts, placed a town on the banks of every river, near every harbor, and in every one of those islands which are the broken arches of the bridge that once united Greece and Asia? Through this region came from the East many beliefs, doctrines,

COIN OF PATARA.[1]

COIN OF SELGE.[2]



TOMB CUT IN THE ROCK AT MYRA.[3]

and arts which attained their full development on the two shores of the Aegean Sea; and the Greeks in turn carried their influence into the very heart of the valleys of the Taurus, as the vast ruins of Patara, Sagalassos, and Selge bear witness. The monuments left

[1] ΛΥΚΙΩΝΠΑ; lyre; the whole in a hollow square. Bronze coin of Patara.

[2] ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ; B; slinger adjusting his sling; in the field, a *triquetra*, club, and cornucopia. Silver coin of Selge.

[3] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 190.

standing, speak instead of history, which is mute; and in studying them we recognize the two opposing currents which met and mingled in these provinces. The rock-tombs of Myra and those in Galatia suggest the royal sepulchres of Persepolis, while in Lydia, even among the intractable Pisidians, the temples and theatres are of Hellenic architecture.

PHRYGIAN, APPARENTLY IN FLIGHT.[1]

Times and manners had introduced great differences among these peoples, in whose blood the Aryan and Semitic elements mingled in varying proportions. The Phrygian, "more timid than a hare," driven by poverty from the burned and arid soil on which he dwelt, yearly descended to the coast to obtain work at the time of olive-gathering; and if matters went ill, he sold his children to obtain a little money. The Lydian did likewise, and even sold himself for light domestic service. Every kind of work might be demanded of him, even the most menial, provided it were not too fatiguing. Since the time of Herodotus this people had been considered the most effeminate in Asia; and that quaint story-teller being at a loss how to explain this unparalleled feebleness, set it down as a sort of political institution. At the two extremities of the country, in Caria and at the foot of Mount Olympus, the inhabitants were more valiant. The Carians had formerly held sway over the whole of the Aegean Sea, and even, under Mausolus, had subdued Rhodes and Lycia.

COIN OF MAUSOLUS.[2]

[1] Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 779 in the Clarac Catalogue.

[2] ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΟ; Jupiter of Labranda, a town of Caria containing a celebrated sanctuary of the god. Silver coin. [Inscriptions generally write the name *Mausollos*. — *Ed.*]

But this people had a sad fate. The slave-dealers found it so easy to obtain supplies in their country that the word "Carian" became synonymous with "slave." The men of Mysia, wild mountaineers, difficult to keep in subjection, had given the Persian satraps much trouble; they were to give the Roman garrisons still more. We have nothing to say of Isauria, where the inhabitants offered a desperate resistance to the Romans, or of Pisidia, which had never submitted to a foreign yoke, and wore but lightly that of Rome. Lycaonia, a land of hilly plains, cold, scantily supplied with water, yet rich in cattle, had a city, Iconium, which afterwards played an important part. In the neighborhood of this town was a lake which bears comparison with the most beautiful in Italy.[1] The Pamphilians and Cilicians have no history; Paphlagonia has a sad one, being a prey incessantly disputed by the kings of Pontus and Bithynia. Of Cappadocia and the Armenians we shall speak later on.

LYCAONIAN SOLDIER.[2]

Thus it is seen that there were still many diversities in the great Asiatic peninsula. But among all these peoples, broken by long slavery, there remained no trace of public life, unless rivalries between cities and internal troubles be considered life. The Romans, therefore, overcame Asia Minor as easily as the Lydians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and Mithridates had done: one battle completed the conquest; and it cost still less trouble to maintain their supremacy. They had at first allowed the native kings to govern for them; then had quietly taken their place; now they possessed the land wholly. They had placed under their direct administration, however, only the ancient kingdoms of Pergamus and Bithynia, with part of the coasts opposite Rhodes and Cyprus; that is to say,

[1] See the engraving on p. 669 of vol. ii.

[2] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii. pl. 103.

populations almost Greek in origin or language, forming a crowd of little states which were always at war with one another, save when some superior authority imposed peace upon them.[1] Leaving to the native populations, therefore, the centre and east, the Romans had occupied the western region, and thrown, as it were, two arms around the peninsula as far as the Thermodon beyond Sinope, and the Syrian gates beyond Tarsus. In this way they held all the outlets of the peninsula, commanded all its communications with the outer world, and controlled the Greek cities situated along its shores. The better to efface all memories of former independence, they had, in their new distribution of Asia, disregarded the old limits of the nations and territories. "It is very difficult," says Strabo, "to determine exactly what belongs to Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, or Mysia, for the Romans in their administrative divisions have paid no heed to the difference of nations. They have divided them into jurisdictions, having each a principal town where justice is dispensed."

As for the interior, finding among the nations habits of submission to their national dynastics, and in these dynastics a selfish eagerness to govern only in accordance with the views of Rome, the Romans were careful not to supplant rulers who so willingly furthered the interests of the Republic. From this apparent disinterestedness it resulted that here the Roman frontiers presented a singular conformation; for whereas on the Euxine and the Sea of Cyprus the boundary of the provinces almost reached the meridian of Antioch, in the interior it receded to almost that of Byzantium.

Roman Asia formed three provinces, — Bithynia, Asia properly so called, and Cilicia. Not many colonies had been established there, for the country had not offered resistance requiring great precautions; and the armies having scarcely made any stay in this region, there had been no opportunity for establishing veterans in it. On the northern coast, however, Sinope, — a beautiful and strongly fortified place, whose navy had formerly ruled the whole Euxine, — Heraclea,

[1] Antony had given the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndos; he was soon obliged to deprive them of these islands, ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 7). *Illud Asia cogitet*, says Cicero, *nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem affuturum fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur . . . aequo animo, parte aliqua suorum fructuum, pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium* (*Ad Quint.* I. i. 11). "In the whole of Asia Minor the Roman conquest had nowhere suppressed a really independent political life, strong and powerful, for the reason it had nowhere encountered any such" (Perrot, *Inscr. de la Mer Noire*, ad fin.).

TELMESSUS, ONE OF THE CHIEF TOWNS IN LYCIA.

Apamea in Bithynia, and Lampsacus[1] had received colonists. Cyzicus, which had rendered such great services during the war against Mithridates; Ilion and its venerable ruins, the cradle of the Roman people, as they would fain believe; Chios, which Mithridates had destroyed and Sylla had rebuilt; Lycia, where the rich valley of the Xanthos was recovering its prosperity; Tarsus, Saint Paul's early home, whose schools rivalled those of Athens and Alexandria, — these and many more were free; that is, they retained their laws and magistrates, on condition, for most of them, of paying tribute, and for all, of deferring to the orders of the Roman governors when the latter saw fit to issue any. Rhodes, which possessed a part of the shore of the mainland lying opposite to it, considered itself still independent.

COIN OF SINOPE.[2]

COIN OF AJAX, PRINCE OF OLBA.[3]

Even in the centre of the provinces there existed small sacerdotal or lay principalities. The interior of Paphlagonia was governed by native chiefs. To the temple of Olba, in Cilicia, said to have been founded by Ajax, were attached large domains, constituting a kind of sovereignty, called the priesthood of Teucer. At the other extremity of Asia Minor a robber-chief named Cleon, quartered in Olympus, had by degrees made himself master of an army and a territory. Some successful raids upon the officers of Labienus at the time when the latter was crossing Mount Amanus at the head of the Parthians, had excused in Antony's eyes Cleon's earlier enterprises, and from a bandit he had become a prince. Nevertheless he had deserted his benefactor at Actium, and

[1] There has been found at Lampsacus a silver patera, now in the Museum of St. Irene at Constantinople, which is one of the most curious representations known of the Asiatic Artemis. The goddess is seated on a golden throne; her flesh and hair are of black enamel, the hair very symmetrically arranged; from her turban protrude two little stag-horns; her dress consists of a golden tunic with stars scattered over it; the golden bow is in her left hand, the guinea-hen and sparrowhawk at her side; dogs with drooping ears, negresses dressed in gold tunics, and lions, complete the ornamentation of this singular relic, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 19.

[2] ΣΙΝΩΠΕΩΝ; Apollo seated on the *ὀμφάλιον* of Delphi, which marked the centre of the world, and holding in his hand a lyre; in the field, AM, and head of Hercules.

[3] ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ (ΚΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ) ΚΑΙ ΛΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΔΩ ΕΤ Ε; Ajax, son of Teucer, high priest, praefect (of the Cennati) of the Lalasses under Diodotos in the year 5 (of the reign of Ajax); thunderbolt. Bronze coin.

Octavius was about to reward him by the gift of two districts of Mysia, with the office of high priest.

Antony had not been fortunate in his friendships; another man, Amyntas, whom he had made a dynast, also betrayed him; a Galatian remained more faithful to him. The eastward part of Bithynia, or the country of the Mariandyni, belonged wholly to the city of Heraclea, which had reduced the natives to the condition of the *penestae* of Thessaly, leaving them no right except that of being sold out of the province. After the war against Mithridates, the Greeks of Heraclea had ceded a part of their city

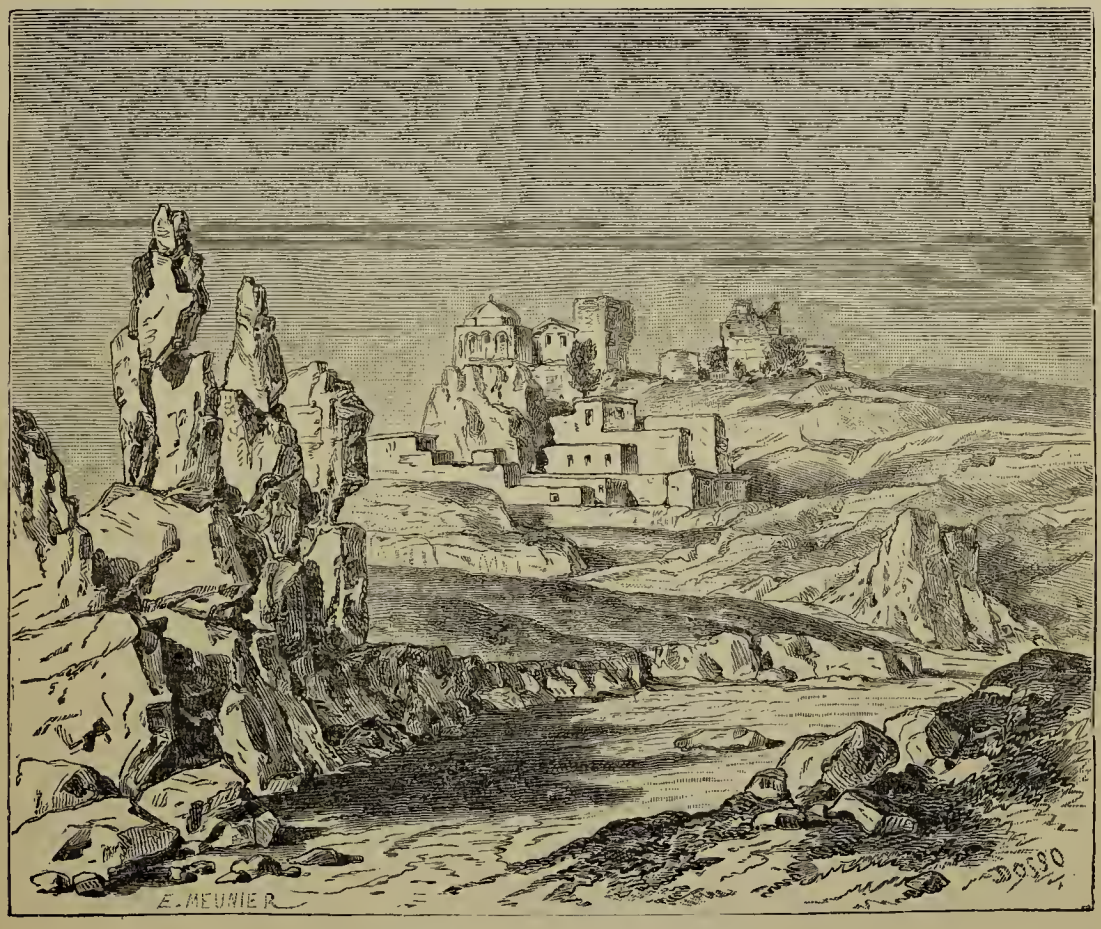
BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE TEMPLE OF IASSOS.[1]

and territory to Roman colonists. Antony, who was very lavish of other men's property, gave to the Galatian Adiatorix the portion which remained to the Heracleotes. It was but one half; in order to obtain the other, the Galatian by night fell suddenly upon the Roman colonists and massacred them. This deed, which occurred a short time before the battle of Actium, gave occasion to a pathetic incident. Adiatorix, being taken prisoner while fighting for Antony, was condemned to death with the eldest of his sons. As the captive was on the

COIN OF SMYRNA, WITH THE FIGURE OF HOMER.

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, pl. 112.

way to execution his second son attempted to pass himself off as the elder, and claimed the right to die with his father. An animated discussion between the two brothers kept the soldiers in suspense. At length the younger gained his point, and explained his motive by saying that his brother was more capable of restoring the fortunes of their house than he. Octavius learned too late these circumstances, and regretted the execution; but rewarded the son of Adiatorix for his brother's devotion by appointing him high priest of Pontic Comana.



ACROPOLIS OF IASSOS (ASSOUS).[1]

The province of Asia was said to contain five hundred cities, among which the most beautifully situated were Cyzicus, the queen of the Propontis; Smyrna, which stamped its coins with the effigy of Homer; Iassos, with its Cyclopean acropolis, upon a plateau rising a thousand feet above the shore and crowned by a temple from which the view extended over part of the archipelago. The greatest wealth existed at Ephesus, celebrated for

[1] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*

its temple of Diana, and, in spite of its bad harbor, the chief emporium of merchandise from Greece and the East;[1] at Laodiceia, which inherited from Hiero, one of its citizens, two thousand talents, and of which another, named Polemon, was made king; at Tralles, where Pythodoris possessed lands also worth two thousand talents and enough ready money to redeem her territory when Caesar had confiscated it as a punishment for the assistance she had rendered to Pompey; at Apamea of Phrygia, the second commercial station in Asia, and on that account called *Kibotos*, or the chest.

PYTHIAN APOLLO ON A COIN OF TRALLES.

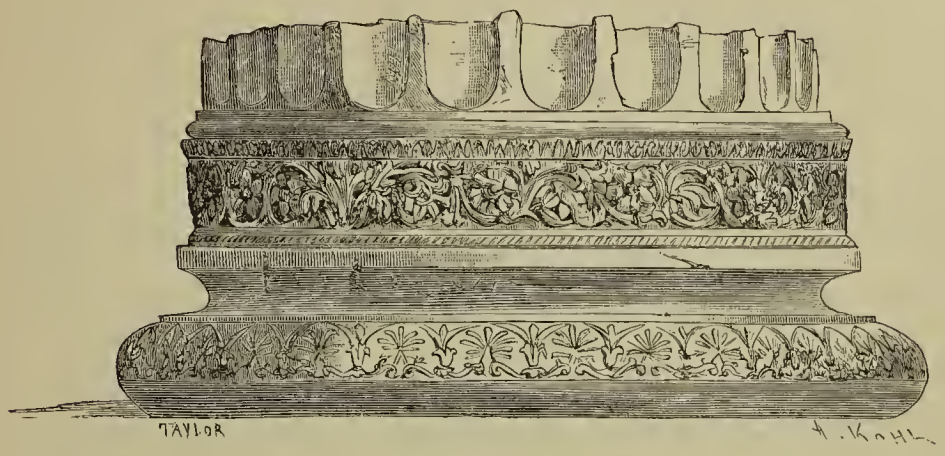
DRACHM OF PYTHODORIS, QUEEN OF PONTUS.

Miletus, with its four harbors, one of which could contain a whole fleet, was, after Ephesus, the largest city of Ionia. Built at the mouth of the Maeander, a river with a capricious and shifting course, it had to suffer from these changes. "Every time the river disturbed the boundaries of properties by washing away a portion of its banks, a suit was instituted against it; and if the judgment were adverse, it was condemned to pay fines, which were levied upon the tolls." Thus the river paid for its damages. But at length it prevailed over the city; and under its alluvial deposits are now sought the remains of those temples which were once the pride of Ionia.[2] The Cymaeans disputed with the Abderitans the privilege of supplying the wits of those days with material for their sarcasms; nor do Ephorus or Hesiod, their compatriots, find a word to say in their defence. Synnada possessed precious marbles; Cibyra manufactories of chased iron-work; Colophon a famous oracle, which Germanicus consulted; Pergamus had lost its fine library, which Antony had given to the Alexandrians, but one of its citizens, Apollodorus, was the friend of Octavius, who deigned to receive from him lessons in polite literature. A brilliant circle

[1] The descendants of Codrus still bore at Ephesus the title of king, the purple robe, and the sceptre, and had the right of presiding at the games and sacrifices of Ceres Eleusinia. But Ephesus possessed a fatal privilege, — the right of asylum in its temple. Alexander had extended this privilege to one stadium, Mithridates to within arrow-shot of the four corners of the temple. Antony doubled this measurement, so that part of the town was included within the privileged limits, which caused malefactors to swarm thither (Strabo, x. 4, 23).

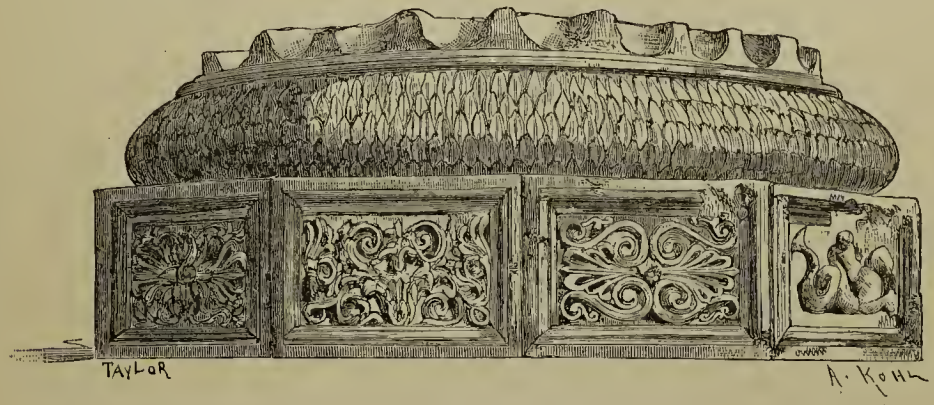
[2] These excavations, directed by M. Rayet, were carried out at the expense of M. de Rothschild, who gave to the Louvre these magnificent remains.

of flourishing cities bordered the Propontis, — Abydus, the great thoroughfare between Europe and Asia; Lampsacus and Prusa, at the foot of Olympus; Nicaea, the most important town of Bithynia;



BASE OF THE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT MILETUS.[1]

Nicomedia, the capital of the province; and Chalcedon, called "the city of the blind," because its founders had fixed upon a bad site [as Polybius explains, iv. 43] when they might have occupied the position of Byzantium.



BASE OF THE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT MILETUS.[1]

Asia had suffered much in the last convulsions of the Republic, without having had, like Gaul and Africa, the consolation of sharing in the struggle honorably. Circumstances had compelled the country to side first with Pompey, and afterwards with the Republicans; Cassius on one occasion levied ten years' taxes there at once.[2] Then came Antony, who exacted even more than all

[1] Eight feet eight inches in diameter. Museum of the Louvre.

[2] The annual tax of Asia was, under Sylla, four thousand talents (App., *Bell. Mithrid.* 62; Plut., *Sylla*, 25). Caesar had diminished it by a third, so that the ten years would only produce twenty-seven thousand talents. But Cassius and Antony raised the tribute to the original amount again (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4).

this. While he was expending this money in the follies of "the inimitable life," Labienus had led the Parthians up to the coast opposite Rhodes and Samos, visited all the temples again, and taken what the triumvir had overlooked.[1] Yet it was necessary to find fresh resources for the formidable armament intended to dispute the empire with Octavius. "The kings, princes, tetrarchs, nations, and

THE BRIDGE AT MOUSLOUK (PERGAMUS).[2]

cities, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, received orders to send the provisions and money necessary." They obeyed. Asia had to all appearance gone forth gayly to this war; but in secret she sighed for the end of these ruinous expenses, for order and repose, that she might rebuild her temples, redeem from usurers her porticos and walls,[3] and return to the lessons of her philosophers, to manu-

[1] Χρήματα . . . ἐπράσσετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα (Dion, xlviii. 26).

[2] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii. pl. 123.

[3] It was a common custom among the cities of Asia to pledge municipal property to creditors. The Cymaeans, having thus given their porticos as security for the loan, dared no longer walk in them, says Strabo.

factures and commerce. Accordingly, she hailed more gladly than did any other province the final victory, to which most of her chiefs had contributed, by their defection sowing discouragement and mistrust among the Antonian troops. Involved against their will in this great quarrel, the Greeks of Asia had retired from it as quickly as possible. They were not fierce patriots, dreaming of freedom; equality was more important to them than independence; and provided they still had public debates, municipal and provincial elections for their presiding cities (κοινά), arts, all the elegancies of the life of Smyrna and Ephesus, which Cicero calls the consolations of slavery,[1] and from time to time some little internal revolution, they were content. Having been accustomed to this state of things for six hundred years, they asked for no other.

Syria and Phoenicia. — Syria had passed through the same vicissitudes, with more disorder and destitution, because it was nearer to the Parthians and Arabs. Its misfortunes date far back, from the last convulsions amid which the kingdom of Syria had perished.[2] After the sanguinary ambitions of native princes, had come the rivalries of foreign masters. It had been necessary to supply both parties with money and soldiers, and at each vicissitude of the Civil wars, to endure fresh exactions in expiation of those already endured.

Caesar, after the battle of Pharsalia, had left in Syria as governor his relative Sextus Julius. A former lieutenant of Pompey, Bassus, long concealed at Tyre, took advantage of the dictator's withdrawal and of the false news which from time to time arrived from Spain or Africa, to form a party, excite to revolts the servants of Sextus, and have the governor murdered. Bassus then assumed the title of praetor, and undertook to govern the province. But the example he had given, appeared easy to follow; what he had done against his predecessor, a certain Antistius attempted against him, and he was in his turn besieged in Apamea. This town, almost entirely surrounded by the Orontes and a large lake, was impregnable. The two adversaries, not finding themselves strong enough to decide the contest, called in an Arab chief of the neighborhood who was in the habit of selling his services to the highest bidder,

[1] *Oblectamenta et solatia servitutis* (*In Ver.* II. iv. 60.).

[2] See vol. ii. p. 661 *seq.*

and who usually assisted the Parthians in invading the province, for the sake of profiting by the disorder. He repaired to a conference between the town and the legions, proposed his conditions, and named his price, which only Bassus was rich enough to pay. Having secured the Arab, he then summoned the Parthians. It was indeed time for Rome to recover her strength!

While the quarrel between the Republic and the Empire was drawing towards its final settlement at Philippi, the Parthians had completed the conquest of Syria; only Tyre escaped them, and tyrants arose in every town. The lieutenants of Antony restored to it a certain degree of order, without introducing much unity into the government of the province, where a number of petty chiefs were able for a long time to maintain themselves.

Nevertheless, as soon as peace was concluded, prosperity revived in that favored region between the Euphrates and the sea, which is cleft into beautiful valleys by the ranges of Taurus and Libanus, and though bordering on the desert, has also the fertile plains always to be found at the foot of great mountains. It is the gate of the East; everything must pass through the rich city of Antioch, which Pompey had left free, and through its port Seleucia. A few years later Strabo said it was almost as great a city as Alexandria. But the interior of the country, even the valley of the Orontes, was not easily freed from the depredations of mountaineers and Arabs. Chalcis, the phylarch of Emesa, and the inhabitants of Damascus were sometimes able to stop them, but not to destroy them, for the porous limestone of the rocks of Anti-Libanus, everywhere pierced by deep caverns, afforded them impregnable retreats. Near Damascus was one in which four thousand men could easily conceal themselves.[1] The Parthians were always the enemy most to be feared by the Syrians. Caesar had promised to deliver the province from this anxiety; Augustus fulfilled the promise in a manner less heroic, but perhaps more secure.

The coast of Phoenicia, which Strabo prolongs to Pelusium, suffered less from the rivalry of Alexandria than is supposed. Aradus and Tyre had always a superabundant population, who were obliged

[1] Strabo, xvi. 756; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xv. 10, 1; "There are fewer robberies now that the band of Zenodorus has been annihilated, thanks to the good administration of the Romans and the garrisons established in Syria" (Strabo, *ibid.*).

to build houses of six or eight stories; and the Tyrian purple, celebrated all over the Empire, supported industry which grew richer every day. Sidon, free like Tyre, and equally populous, was the centre of the glass manufacture. What the Greeks had secretly undermined was not the commerce or the industries of their former rivals, but their language and their civilization. Phoenicians were no longer to be found at Tyre and Sidon; but there were many astronomers and mathematicians, rhetoricians and philosophers, — schools, in short, where all branches of human knowledge were taught. Even from Ascalon and from Gadara came Philodemus the epicurean, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician. The Categories of Aristotle and the Ideas of Plato obliterated the remembrance of Biblical legends in these towns of the patriarchs.

COIN OF TYRE.[1]

V. — Provinces in Africa.

Egypt. — Palestine, once more become a kingdom, will occupy us later. We now come to Egypt, "the ancestress of nations."

On the 15th of August of the year 30 before our era, the race of the Lagidae became extinct, after having reigned for nearly three centuries, first with glory, then with weakness and opprobrium. Fallen, like all the States of the East, into that semi-slavery in which the Senate delighted to hold the most powerful monarchies, Egypt had ceased to be her own mistress since the day when a Roman officer, stretching out his rod between her and the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, had sufficed to save her. Nearly a century and a half had passed since then, but the Romans liked to see a slow death; in the amphitheatre they were ready to tear in pieces the gladiator who struck too soon. Egypt lived on amidst civil wars and incests, exactions and massacres, seeing

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.[2]

[1] ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, that is, *Tyre, holy city and place of refuge;* eagle and palm in the field; a club, AK and ΔK. Silver coin.

[2] Head of Antiochus Epiphanes, crowned with a diadem. From a silver coin.

its kings, by turns persecutors and victims, pursue one thing only, — the heaping up of gold wherewith to bribe at Rome some tribune or consul.

The history of this great Empire had become more and more the history of revolutions of the palace, and in its last days it had

KING AND QUEEN OF EGYPT OF THE RACE OF THE LAGIDAE.[1]

none save the adventures of that ambitious and passionate woman who by her grace and her wit, by her mad surrender to pleasure and her courageous death, relieves for a moment the dark tragedy of the second triumvirate. The love of Caesar absolves Cleopatra from her passion for Antony, which was only a necessary policy. If as a woman she was weak, as a queen she was great, — great at least after the fashion of the East; that is to say, cruel and luxurious, but able and proud even in death. With her, old Egypt descended to the tomb. The country adopted its Macedonian kings and inscribed their names by the side of those of its ancient dynasties. But the word of Ezekiel was now to be fulfilled; Egypt hence-

[1] Bronze busts found at Herculaneum. Archæologists not being agreed as to the identity of the characters, we have given them only a generic name (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., pl. 18).

forward was to have only foreign masters, *and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* (xxx. 13).

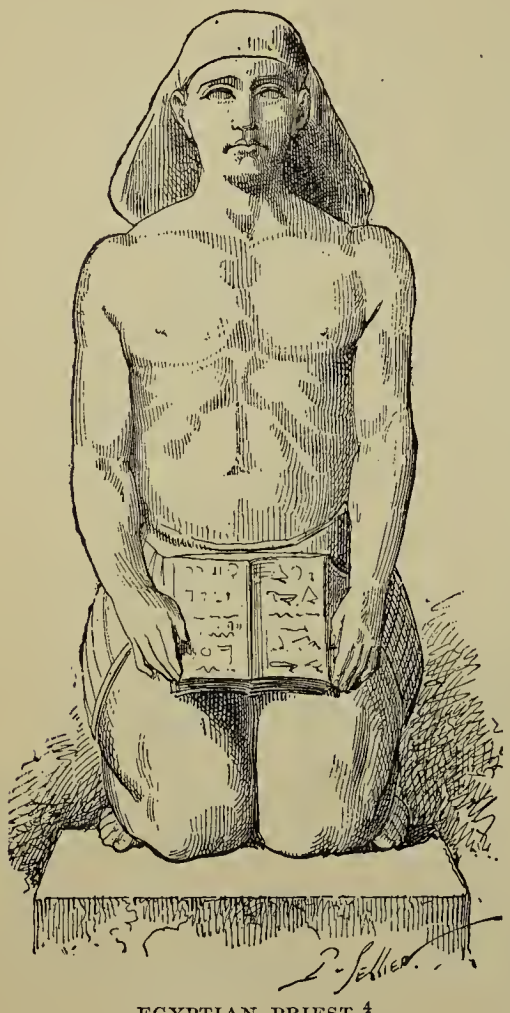
A society which is in a sense moulded upon the ground which it occupies is little influenced by time or men. It would be difficult to find a government worse than that of the later Ptolemies; yet, notwithstanding the continual riots and periodical massacres of Alexandria, Egypt prospered. It was still the land praised by Theocritus, for the soil was always fruitful, the cities innumerable, and the river beneficent. It was also the highway of Indian commerce, and, as it were, a fortress whence Africa and Arabia could be held in check. So many advantages struck the discerning eye

EGYPTIAN LANDSCAPE (PAINTING FROM POMPEII).[1]

of Octavius, and he took every measure prudence could suggest to prevent a revolt in a country so well constituted for a life apart, so well defended against foreign aggressions by the desert which surrounds it and the inhospitable coast which borders it. Cambyses had slaughtered its priests and profaned its monuments. This policy had its deserved consequences: Egypt, under the Persians, was in almost constant revolt. Octavius respected everything, — the religion, the language, the customs of this nation. If he refused to turn out of his way to see the bull Apis, he at least performed, like Caesar, the customary rites in the temples, where he allowed the priests, who were anxious to exhibit the conqueror as a worshipper of their gods, to represent him as making an offering to Horus. When he had visited the tomb of Alexander, they wished to show him those of the Ptolemies. "I have come," he said, "to see a king, not dead men." This was his only vengeance on the memory of those whose place he was taking. We shall see that he

[1] Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., 5th series, pl. 26. There is nothing Egyptian in this Pompeian painting but the crocodile seizing a child and the sphinx placed on one side of the temple.

governed like them, but without riots, and with more order and foresight. From the first, the soldiers who had conquered Antony were employed in cleaning the choked channels of the Nile. This was good policy for Egypt, where these labors regulated the inundations of the river; and also for Rome, which the Egyptian grain was to feed.[1]



EGYPTIAN PRIEST.[4]

Egypt had seven million men and great riches; Octavius was willing to intrust so much power only to obscure persons, to mere knights, who being nothing save through him, could do nothing against him. He did not give them even the insignia of ordinary governors.[2] They were agents whom he sent to manage one of his farms,[3] and whose accounts he himself examined. Egypt, being considered the domain of the emperors, was not reckoned amongst the provinces; and its revenues, instead of being deposited in the public treasuries, went to increase their private purse. One legion in Alexandria, two in the neighborhood, nine cohorts, and three squadrons commanded an obedience which, save in the capital, these docile people were not reluctant to give. That there might be no fear of this army being tampered with by any ambitious person, it was forbidden to all senators and all knights of illustrious birth to visit the banks of the Nile without special permission. No one except the obscure merchant or nameless traveller could visit this land of marvels. And whereas the

[1] *Aegyptum . . . ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicae redderet, fossas omnes . . . oblitas longa vetustate, militari opere detersit* (Suet., *Octav.* 18). The Egyptian tribute of corn was so reckoned as to supply Rome for four months.

[2] Trebonius Pollio, *Trig. tyr.* 21. The prefect of Egypt held, however, *imperium ad similitudinem proconsulis* (*Dig.* i. 17, 11, and Tac., *Ann.* xii. 60).

[3] Τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κτημά των (Philo., *Ad Flac.* p. 987).

[4] Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *Notice*, etc., No. 360).

whole of Gaul quickly entered into the Roman citizenship, and the heads of her noble families took their seats in the Capitol, Egypt waited two hundred and thirty years before one of her race was decorated with the senatorial laticlave. Till the time of Septimius Severus, Alexandria had not even the senate which the humblest cities possessed.

These precautions were justified by the wealth, the position, and the social organization of Egypt. The cities of Greece and

AUGUSTUS PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO HORUS.[1]

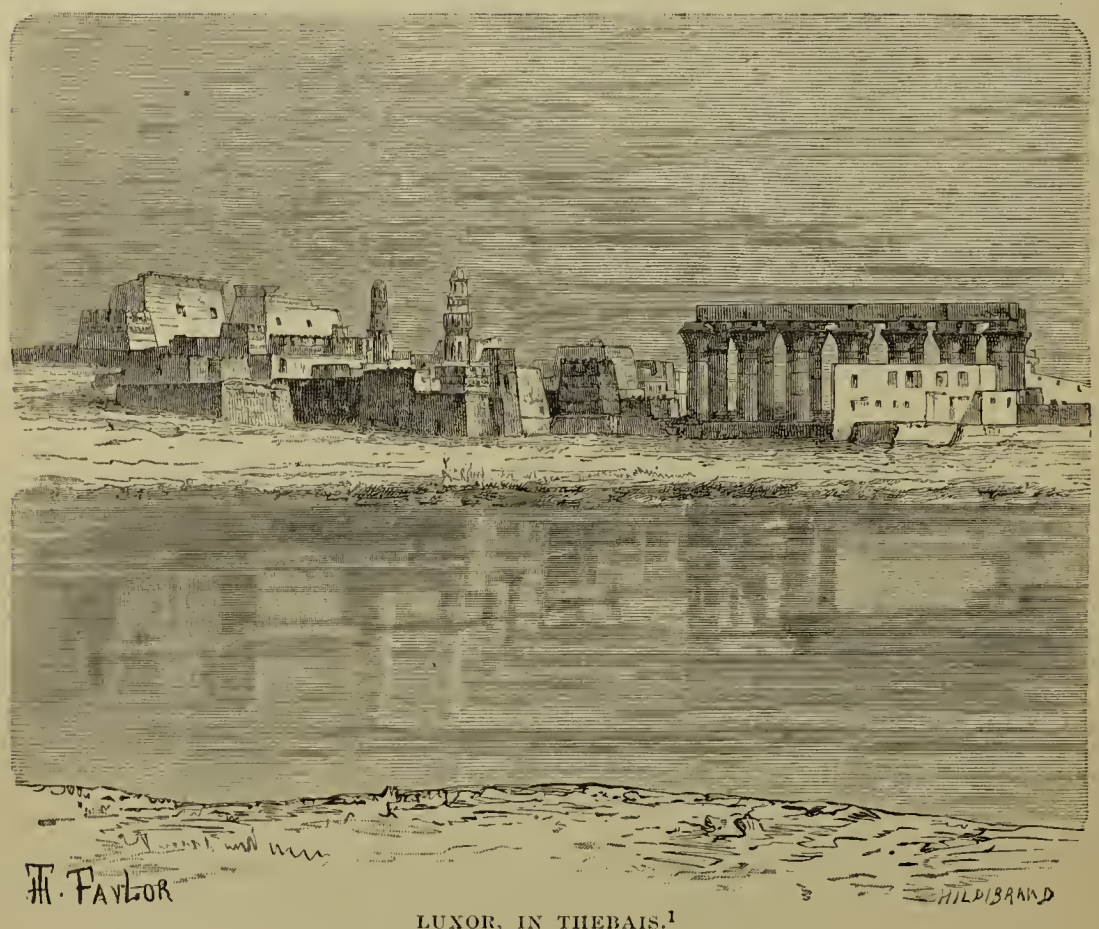
Asia, the tribes of Gaul and of Spain, were isolated; a native conspirator or a political adventurer would have found it difficult to unite them for a common purpose. These divisions were unknown in Egypt; it was a great State, all the parts of which had a common life, because for them there was but one history, as there was but one material existence. From Syene to Pelusium everything was in common, good and evil, scarcity and abundance, for the Nile was the same for all. From Pelusium to Syene,[2] the

[1] Rosellini, *op. cit.*

[2] M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 3: "All the structures still existing at Philae

political organization was also identical, for kings and priests extended their absolute authority over all, as the river year by year covered everything with its slimy waters. But there was nothing to fear from a people made docile by twenty centuries of obedience to a theocratic government or to foreign masters.

Polybius bears this testimony to the Egyptians, — and Strabo, who knew them well, accepts it, — that they were intelligent and



LUXOR, IN THEBAIS.[1]

submissive to the laws. The name of their master concerned them little, provided that the Nile overflowed its banks on the appointed day, that their sacred animals did not die too frequently, that Serapis continued his marvellous cures at Canopus, and that they could celebrate the festivals of their thousand divinities. At that of Serapis, boats covered the river and the canals by day and night, and the banks resounded with dissolute songs and dances. The

date from the epoch of the Ptolemies or from that of the Roman emperors" (De Rougé, *ibid.*; *Explic. des Planches*).

[1] M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 47.

THE ISLAND OF PHILOE (UPPER EGYPT).

distance from Alexandria to Canopus was one hundred and twenty stadia; it was at that time but one long street, noisy and gay.

This was their great concern. Pleasure was their true god, their only religion; but Rome did not intend to deprive them of it. Why, then, should they allow themselves to be seized with a new fit of pride, rather Greek than Egyptian indeed, and why should they recommence the Alexandrian war? If the freshet of the river was not high enough and famine threatened, if the taxes were too heavy, they would indeed murmur and make a disturbance; but the sight of a few armed soldiers sufficed to quell the most formidable revolt. The whole of the Thebaid in revolt would tremble before two or three cohorts, and Petronius needed only his praetorian guard to brave the threatening anger of the immense population of Alexandria. As long as their life was easy and pleasant, they would pass by the majestic monuments erected by their fathers without remembering that they had once been a great nation. Their greatest scholars scarcely knew how to read the inscriptions which recounted the ancient glory of their Pharaohs;[1] and those priests of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, whose profound science Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato reverently consulted, were no longer aught but pious jugglers who had lost the deep meaning of things. If a traveller, anxious to see this strange race, came to Memphis, they would not explain to him the course of the stars, the dimensions of the heavens and the earth, or the secrets of creation, but they led him to the temple of Apis. If the hour had come, there issued from the sanctuary a black bull spotted with white; he was let loose in the *pronaos;* he was made to take a few leaps and then led back to his stall: this was their god and these were their doctrines. Another of their gods was the crocodile of Arsinoë. But let an eye-witness speak: "Our host, a person of importance in the country, accompanied us to the lake, bringing from the remnants of our meal a small cake, some baked meat, and a flagon of hydromel; we found the sacred animal on

[1] The third governor, Gallus, when he visited Egypt, could not obtain an explanation of their mysteries (Strabo, xvii. 29). It is possible that Gallus was not satisfied with his Egyptian cicerone, for Rosellini (*Mon. stor.* ii. 455) maintains that hieroglyphics were used until Caracalla at least, and M. Letronne, perhaps until the sixth century (*Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 464). [But in late buildings they are found used at random, as mere ornament. — *Ed.*]

the edge of the lake. The priests seized him, and some held his mouth open while another threw the cake into it, then the meat, and lastly poured down the wine. Then the crocodile leaped into the lake and crossed rapidly to the opposite bank. Another stranger having appeared with his offering, the priests took it, ran round the lake to meet the crocodile, and when they reached him made him take in the same way what had been brought." [1]

OSIRIS.[2]

Thus the grand religion of Isis the mysterious goddess, and of the good Osiris, had become a clumsy fetichism, of which the ceremonial and liturgy were those orgies which the East loves to mingle with popular devotion.

The vast learning of the ancient priests, however, broke through the new covering which hid the old society, and Strabo speaks of the Greeks causing Egyptian books to be translated in order to plagiarize these hidden treasures. Alexandria was the chief workshop of translations and commentaries.[3] This union of two civilizations so different took place also at other points: at Memphis, the largest city in the kingdom after the capital, and like it inhabited by people of all nations, giving to the worshippers of the bull Apis the strange spectacle of bull-fights; at Ptolemaïs, a

[1] Strabo, xvii. 811.

[2] Bas-relief brought from Egypt by Comte de Forbin (Museum of the Louvre).

[3] *πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος . . . ὃς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βίβλους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώττας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν, μυριάδας βίβλων δέκα ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν* (Syncellus, p. 271). Let us add the great translation of the Hebrew books, or Septuagint. Ptolemy quotes seven observations of the astronomers of Babylon.

thoroughly Greek city, hardly second to Memphis, and whose proximity had completed the ruin of the great Thebes, "the town of a hundred gates, by each of which went out two hundred men with their horses and their chariots of war."

To the Greeks and Jews, Egypt was an immense market, whither they flocked; to the nomads of the deserts of Africa and Arabia, an oasis of verdure and water, where every day some among them halted. At Coptos, says Strabo, there were as many Arabs as Egyptians. There was to be seen, therefore, a renewal of that intercourse which had taken place in the beginning of Egyptian society, but there followed from it no such marvels as had signalized the early civilization of that country. Then the land had been stronger than the men, and that early culture in a country which none other in the world resembles had assumed an unique character. But now the hand of Rome was too heavy, the inspiration of the Greek spirit too powerful, for old Egypt to resist their double action, under which fell the barriers that protect the independence of nations and the originality of institutions, habits, and beliefs. Egypt, more than any other country, lost thereby, but it was for the advantage of the world.

Cyrenaïca and Roman Africa. — Alexandria lies at the western extremity of Egypt; there the delta ends and the desert begins. From the island of Pharos to the promontory of Carthage, on a coast-line seven hundred and fifty leagues in extent, vessels scarcely found a single harbor. Africa is as formidable to sailors along its coasts as to travellers in its desert solitudes. Not that the Sahara everywhere extends to the sea; around that ocean of sand occupying the centre of northern Africa extends an immense plateau, that of the Atlas, which in its flora, and to a certain degree its fauna and its climate, partakes more of the character of southern Italy and Spain than of Africa. Though the summits which command this plateau are not high enough for glaciers, snow and rigorous cold are not rare. This plateau has two terraces: one sloping down to the Sahara, which is the beginning of the desert, the Bled-el-Djerid, the region of dates, in which flocks find wells and pasture enough to multiply; the other reaching to the Mediterranean, the Tell, a corn-bearing plain, a region of towns and ports. The Tell itself does not everywhere touch the sea; it is separated from it by a belt

of mountains forming a bluff, steep coast, against which the waves break with fury, and opening at long intervals into a valley watered by a river whose shallow and irregular course is not favorable for navigation.

To these three zones correspond three kinds of inhabitants: the nomadic tribes of Bled-el-Djerid, difficult to attack, but kept in a state of dependence on the Tell for their supplies of grain; the Berbers or Kabyles of the plateau, a distinct race, athletic in

REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT BRIDGE AT PTOLEMAÏS, IN CYRENAÏCA.[1]

form, industrious, active, very brave, willingly remaining at peace as long as their independence is not threatened; and lastly, the husbandmen of the Tell and the sedentary inhabitants of the inland towns and of the coast. The latter, facing Europe, have always been in communication with it by commerce or piracy, by conquest or invasion. These three regions, like the three populations, are quite distinct in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. From this point they begin to blend; in the regency of Tripoli the Sahara extends to the sea. Except a few tracts of verdure, there is nothing from the Lesser Syrtis to Egypt but the empire of Typhon, the ocean of

[1] Captain Beechy, *Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, from Tripoli eastward*, p. 339 (1828).

sand. On that long shore, where sea and land are equally inhospitable, the one on account of its shallows, the other by reason of its shifting sands, the road is indicated only by heaps of stones made at long intervals; each pilgrim who passes adds his to the pile; they are the beacons of the desert.

A marvellous spectacle, nevertheless, awaits the traveller as he leaves the frightful solitudes of Paraetonium or of the Greater Syrtis, one of the most desolate regions of the earth. The ground, which from afar seemed to join the level of the Mediterranean, rises to a mean height of sixteen hundred feet; and the plateau of Barca, the ancient Cyrenaïca, juts out into the sea, a lofty, broad promontory covered with venerable forests and intersected by fertile valleys in which water flows everywhere.[1] Innumerable and imposing ruins, which bear the double impress of Egypt and of Greece, the remains of castles proudly situated on the heights,[2] and roads still furrowed with the deep ruts which the ancient chariots made, bear witness to the prosperity of that fruitful land, the garden of the Hesperides. Arsinoë, Ptolemaïs, Cyrene, are still there,[3] covering immense tracts, but silent and deserted; for only the wandering Bedouin now comes to drink at the sacred fountain where Callimachus wrote his hymns to Apollo and to Pallas.[4] Like those petrified towns which the Arabs profess to have seen

[1] See the curious account of Della Cella (*Viaggio da Tripoli da Barbaria alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto*, 1819). Dr. Russell has collected some valuable information in his *History of the Barbary States*, Edinburgh, 1835.

[2] Not a single peak, says Ritter (vol. iii. p. 238, of the French translation), which is not crowned with the ruins of an old castle or fort; not a fort that is not surrounded by ditches dug in the rock and by remarkable constructions executed in the interior of the mountain. Cyrene is 1,770 feet above the sea, which it overlooks, and whence it can be seen situated on hills which descend on successive terraces to the harbor. Its territory shows a vigorous vegetation, thanks to the periodic rains which fall there, and which justify the saying of the Libyans (Herod., iv. 158) about a perforated sky: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται. Cyrenaïca, having great differences of climate, owing to the elevation of the mountains, possessed also a great diversity of productions; harvest was carried on there for eight months of the year. Oil, wine, and corn were the principal products, in addition to silphium, the leaves of which were excellent for flocks and the stem for man; the root yielded assafœtida, which was much esteemed by the ancients, as it still is by the Orientals.

[3] Arsinoë covered a plain three quarters of a league in extent, which is still surrounded by a colossal rampart. The ruins of Ptolemaïs are more than a league in circuit (Della Cella, *Viaggio*). [It must be distinguished from Egyptian Ptolemaïs near Memphis. — *Ed.*]

[4] The Bedouins, driven out of the desert by the summer, came every year with their flocks to seek for water and pasturage in the mountains of Cyrene (Captain Beechy, *Expedition*, etc., p. 354).

in the desert, life has entirely departed from them, and the traveller finds them lying dead on the ground, enveloped in their ancient walls as in a winding-sheet of stone. It is a spectacle at once full of grandeur and of sadness, which only the East can show; for it is the first-born of the world, and has seen as many empires pass away as our young Europe can reckon centuries of existence. These old ruins, indeed, conceal others, and rest on a

REMAINS OF A MAUSOLEUM AT PTOLEMAÏS IN CYRENAÏCA.[1]

soil that a civilized people had trodden before the arrival of the Greeks. The monuments here bear inscriptions in unknown characters, doubtless the last traces of an indigenous population which had sprung up in this great African oasis.

Cyrenaïca, a land of mountains, springs, and forests, yet without any large river, resembles Egypt, however, in its fertility and its isolation. Like the valley of the Nile, it is surrounded by frightful deserts, and can only be approached from the Mediterranean at two or three points.[2] Here corn was not the chief

[1] Captain Beechy, *Expedition*, etc.

[2] These points are now Tajouni, Bengazi, — perhaps the ancient Bereniee, — and Marza-Sousa, the ancient Apollonia. This would be, says Ritter (vol. ii. p. 239), an admirable colony for a European power.

article of commerce, but silphium (exported through the whole empire), essence of roses, oil (the best in the world), and above all, wines; accordingly Bacchus was held in great honor here. At every step we find the ruins of his temples. To these we must add the products of the industry of the five great cities, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemaïs, Apollonia, and Cyrene, which in wealth and luxury rivalled the Greek cities of Ionia. The effeminacy of the

VIEW IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF APOLLONIA.[1]

Cyrenians had become proverbial;[2] there, truly, philosophy might declare (through Aristippus) its decision: "Happiness lies in pleasure."

The will of its last king had delivered this beautiful country over to the Romans, but they owned so many others that hitherto

[1] Captain Beechy, *Expedition*, etc., p. 466.

[2] The comic poet Alexis, quoted by Athenaeus, ridicules their long banquets: "Invite one guest, eighteen will come, — in ten chariots with thirty horses" (Athen., *Deipnosoph.* xii. 1).

they had given little attention to this remote possession; the emperors afterwards were more occupied with it, and some beautiful Roman ruins testify to their care.

The Greater Syrtis, which bordered on Cyrenaïca, is, as it were, the battlefield between the sea and the Sahara. The waves of the one, driven during nine months of the year by the north winds, strive with the sands of the other, and the shore exhibits only an alternation of shifting sand-hills, salt-marshes, and plains covered with a layer of salt three or four inches thick. The gulf is no safer for vessels than the shore for caravans; the current which carries the waters eastward breaks against the plateau of Barca and is thrown back in a thousand directions, causing violent and dangerous currents and eddies among the shallows. The Cyrenians and Carthaginians had nevertheless contended for this gloomy region, and towns had been built there. The fall of Carthage and the cessation of the extensive trade which she carried on through this country with the interior of Africa led to their decay; the Empire afterwards restored to them a lasting prosperity.

Africa is always either marvellously fertile or appallingly barren. Between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis fertile soil reappears here and there; the neighborhood of Leptis the Great and the valley of Cinyps produced, says Herodotus, three hundredfold. Accordingly Leptis itself had become an important city; its ruins cover a space three miles long by two broad. After this place Strabo names only a few towns which kept up the industry of purple dyeing, a last remnant of Phoenician civilization, another relic of which, the Punic language, endured for a long time. Our geographer speaks also of a great harbor within the Lesser Syrtis. There the town of Cabes now stands, numbering not less than thirty thousand souls.

Isolated by the sea and the sands, the region of the Syrtes had continued, till the late wars, separated from the Roman world by Numidia, which the Senate had not wished to make into a province. An unaccountable caution had in truth arrested the progress of Roman colonization in Africa. It was for a descent upon that continent that the first legions which left Italy had embarked; two centuries had passed since then; and although they had returned thither three times more, with the two Scipios and with

Marius, only a small number of colonists and Italian merchants had settled there, instead of the crowd which hastened into Spain, Gaul, and Asia. But lately Rome had in reality possessed only a corner of land there, the former Carthaginian Africa, and even that she had generously shared with the kings of Numidia.

This kingdom, which after Jugurtha's death was divided, had been reunited, and under Juba it extended through fertile districts, from Ampsagas to the sea of the Syrtes. In this way it protected the province against the incursions of the nomadic tribes, but it also surrounded it in a dangerous fashion. This Juba fully proved during Caesar's campaign in Africa. Nevertheless, the Senate had

COIN OF ROMAN CARTHAGE.[1]

COIN OF MICIPSA.[2]

not neglected their usual precautions. Along the shore of the Syrtes, several free towns, Thapsus, Leptis Minor, Achulla, Usilla, Teudalis, and perhaps Hadrumetum, were like so many gates opening upon Numidia. By them Caesar had entered. His great-uncle, Marius, had prepared other auxiliaries for him. The Gaetuli, called by Strabo the greatest of the Libyan nations, who pitched their tents on the southern slopes of the Atlas, depended for their supply of grain on the Numidian kings; but this dependence they endured with reluctance; and Marius, when he allowed Numidia still to exist, took care to establish an understanding with these nomads. A number of Gaetuli had become his clients, or received the title of Roman citizens. Caesar, by recalling these facts, gained over the whole nation, and the diversion made by this people aided greatly in the defeat of the Pompeians.

[1] Head of Ceres.

[2] Horse on the left; in the background, a sceptre. Bronze coin of Micipsa.

The battle of Thapsus led to the reduction into a province of the whole of Numidia and part of the country of the Gaetuli. Some years later, when Bogud, one of the two Moorish kings, took the side of Antony, Octavius adjudged his kingdom, Mauretania Tingitana, to the other prince, who was already master of Mauretania Caesariensis; and at the death of the latter, in the year 33, he united both to the domain of the Republic. Northern Africa had thus entirely changed in the space of a few years; and the same influence, spreading over it from Alexandria to Tingis, was soon to restore life to its desolate shores. Already Carthage, rebuilt by Caesar and colonized by Augustus, was again becoming a flourishing city.

In the interior of Numidia one town surpassed all the others, and indeed could no longer be called a barbarian city. This was Cirta, to which Micipsa had summoned Greek colonists, a city which Caesar had given to his Italian adventurers.

COIN OF TINGIS.[1]

Tangier (Tingis), which claimed to possess the great buckler of Antaeus made of elephant's hide, had received from Octavius the right of citizenship. But Mauretania, lying behind it, was but little known, although there was much talk of its beautiful rivers and fertile soil, its vines producing bunches of grapes a cubit in length, its trees supplying tables made of a single plank veined with the most beautiful colors,[2] and its horses swifter than the wind, which even at Rome, amid the hard-hearted men of that time, called forth a little of that affection which the Arab gives his steed. A somewhat extensive trade with the interior of Africa doubtless brought into Mauretania the gold-dust of which our geographer tells, and this could not have failed to draw thither the Roman population, in spite of nearness of the desert and its threatening hordes.

What were these desert tribes? After Greek civilization had reached the Numidians, the earliest scholars of that people found

[1] Bearded head of Baal and Punic inscription. Reverse of a bronze coin of Agrippa struck at Tingis.

[2] It was in the Atlas the citrus (*Thuya articulata*) was found, which furnished the tables sold in Rome at a fabulous price. Cicero paid for one forty thousand dollars; the Cethegi had another worth about sixty thousand dollars (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 29).

VIEW OF TANGIER (TINGIS).

it easy to invent an illustrious origin for themselves. They could not be either Greeks or Romans; they availed themselves of a vague tradition, which had come down through the ages, of colonies from the East, and fabulous adventures of the Tyrian Heracles, connecting themselves with what was most illustrious in the world after Rome and Greece, namely, Persia. Sallust, who obtained a translation of their books, found therein that the Numidians had for their ancestors Persians, companions of Heracles. When the Christian religion in its turn penetrated to these countries, echoes of Biblical traditions made themselves heard, and the Moors became the Canaanites whom Joshua had expelled from Palestine.

VIEW OF TANGIER (PRESENT STATE).

Herodotus is more simple, and doubtless nearer the truth. He acknowledges only two native races in Africa, the Libyans and the Ethiopians; and two foreign ones, the Greeks and the Phoenicians.[1] The persistent tradition of great migrations from Asia, and the existence from Egypt to the extremities of Atlas of one language which is not without analogy to the Semitic dialects, have already shown us that a great people had spread over the African continent in this direction. The great extent over which it settled broke it up into tribes, and the difference in the regions which these tribes occupied brought about the diversities of customs.

The two foreign races, the Greeks and Phoenicians, were now

[1] Sall., *Bell. Jug.* 17–18; Procop., *Bel. Vand.* ii. 10.

subject to Rome. The black race escaped her, and would continue to do so forever; but she found herself face to face with the Libyans, who in Zeugitania and Byzacium had been accustomed to the Roman yoke, and in Numidia had begun to feel it through their kings, for more than a century converts to Roman civilization. While the Republic did not among the nations encounter that religious opposition which leads to desperate resistance, she still met such an opposition to her customs that Augustus deemed it prudent to abandon the government of the country to native princes, that they might establish towns which would render the occupation more easy, might encourage commerce, literature, and arts which would create interests favorable to foreign rule, and in a word, prepare those rude tribes to accept the direct action of Rome.

HERCULES STRANGLING ANTAEUS.[1]

[1] Marble group from the gallery of Florence. This group, published by De Rossi (*Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne*, 1704), is considered by Maffei to be probably a copy of that of Polycleitus, mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 8). We gave, in vol. iii. p. 75, a representation of the same subject from a painted vase.

END OF VOL. III.

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